LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
DEC 30 1940
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

BS620
.R93

Biblical Monuments.

BY

WILLIAM HARRIS RULE, D.D.,

AND

J. CORBET ANDERSON.

Ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσε,
τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

Croydon:

MDCCCLXXI—III.

PREFACE.

This book originated in a conversation on the doubts of some persons, reputed to be learned, in regard to the historical portions of Holy Scripture, and the consequent unbelief of multitudes who are confessedly unlearned. It was alleged that the clergy had done too little to counteract this kind of unbelief, but it was pleaded in their defence that, while greater efforts ought to have been made by preachers to disabuse their congregations of errors of ignorance, much of the special instruction requisite for this purpose could not be delivered from the pulpit without frequent departure from the primary intention of their ministry, which is instruction in the rudiments of Christian faith, and the rules of godly living. Considering also that doubt on matters of history, whatever the history may be, can best be removed by the production of incontrovertible proof, and that speculation, and even argument, avail for very little indeed, in comparison with real monumental evidence, such as is now attainable by examination of ancient remains, it was agreed that by exhibiting such remains, the more certain accomplishment of a great and holy work would be accelerated.

Looking first of all to the requirements of their own town—for in his own town every man's duty begins—

Mr. Anderson suggested to Dr. Rule, that if he wished to exemplify that method of teaching in Croydon, where he then resided, by the delivery of a course of lectures adapted to the hearing of educated persons, whose influence might thereby be made more conducive to the enlightenment of the ignorant, and to counteract the credulity of ignorance in a time of prevailing unbelief, he (Mr. Anderson) would be ready to prepare any drawings of objects of antiquity which might be thought necessary for illustration. Shortly afterwards the offer was earnestly repeated, and Dr. Rule proceeded to prepare for delivering a short course of lectures of the kind suggested, but found it impossible to do justice to the subject within such narrow limits, and before so scant an audience of the class desired, as would probably be assembled. Further correspondence led to the conclusion that a book should be written, and graphically illustrated, no effort being spared for the production of an acceptable volume. Mr. Anderson, on his part, was prepared to carry out his own proposal to a much larger extent, and in a style very different from that originally intended.

The result is, that Dr. Rule holds himself entirely responsible for all that is written, and Mr. Anderson for the execution, or the oversight at least, of all that is pictorially illustrative.

To gather from the abundant fruits of archæological research such as are strictly monumental, and relate to events recorded in Holy Scripture, and to exhibit them intelligibly, is all that the Author has attempted. To attempt more than this would be missing the mark, and imposing on his readers. On some of the monuments which he produces opinions differ. The most successful

students, men who have spent most time, and bestowed most labour and patience in their work, are often the first to mistrust even their own conclusions. Some of them rather incline to scepticism than to credulity. But there is a kind of historical scepticism that may almost be counted as a virtue. It serves to stimulate inquiry. It is attended with a sense of comparative ignorance, which leads him that entertains it to be daily searching deeper after something more. It may be quite consistent with reverence towards the Bible, and ever tends to keep alive a salutary watchfulness against credulous enthusiasm. The truly learned archæologist does not fancy himself possessed of an intuitive faculty for solving mysteries, nor is he confident of success in proportion as he is unconscious of incapacity.

Yet on some occasions this very virtue of diffidence has been carried too far. In respect, especially, to the *ancient* Sinaitic inscriptions this appears to be the case. Scholars whom we all regard with admiration deny that they are what others believe them to be, but after most anxious consideration we accept them, and the reasons which have led to their acceptance are stated in the Appendix, with earnest hope that some experienced Oriental archæologist will devote undivided attention to the casts and photographic pictures which faithfully bring home to us the exact lines of those inscriptions without any possibility of change. The time is surely come for some unbiassed student to make an independent translation of them all on his own responsibility, apart from controversy, and to provide a key that will unlock the Israelitish dialect, just as Brugsch has done for the Egyptian, and Norris for the Assyrian. There can be no reason why so large a mass of inscribed Shemitic should remain unmastered.

In the work now written it is hoped that both controversy and conjecture have been equally avoided. Whatever failures the learned may discover, the present writer is prepared to accept, and, if possible, profit by their criticisms, for the branch of learning on which we depend for the acquisition of material is as yet but in its infancy. But we can all cherish the assurance that researches now in progress have opened a mine of wealth that will not be soon exhausted, and that the result of actual labours will be an accumulation of monumental records that, like a true mirror, shall reflect an exact image of Biblical history, or, more correctly speaking, a counterpart that will supplement what in the Bible is incomplete—incomplete only in comparison with a professedly entire history—yet quite full enough on the topics wherewith the inspired historians were concerned, setting down that only which was requisite for the discharge of their peculiar mission.

Readers who are familiar with the literary history of the Bible itself, and with the study of the original texts, will perceive at a glance that no more has been said in some parts of this volume than was barely necessary to give the general reader a correct idea of its composition. Anything like a summary of Biblical Science, even were an adequate summary possible within a few pages, would here be quite out of place.

The concluding section on Translation needs no further explanatory observation than will be found in the introductory paragraphs.

CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Fig. 1. Hebron.—From a drawing by Mons. C. W. M. Van de Velde in "*Le pays d'Israel.*"

2. Asiatics bringing Gifts to Egypt.

3. Hisn-Ghorâb Inscription.

4. Prisoners making bricks.

5. Colossal Head of Rameses II.

6. Prostrate Statue of Rameses II.—From "*Monuments Egyptiens*" by Mons. E. Prisse d'Avennes.

7. A Sinaitic Inscription. (Wood-cut in the page.)

8. Brick from Erech.

9. A Brick of Nebuchadnezzar.

10. Site of Babylon.

11. A Letter of Theodore of Abyssinia, with Seal.

12. Pasht, the Cat Goddess.

13. Inscription of Mesha the Moabite.

14. Joppa.—After M. Van de Velde.

15. Royal City of Nineveh.—This is now marked Koyunjik in the maps, and here are found the ruins of The Royal City. Khorsabad and Nimrúd are also included in the region bounded by the Tigris and the Zab on the S.W. and S.E. and known by the general name of Nineveh, the exceeding great city of three days' journey.

16. A Brick of Sennacherib.

17. A Bas-relief of Asshur-izir-pal.

18. A Brick of Cyrus.

19. Tomb of Cyrus.

20. Samaritan MS. (Gen. i. 6-8.)

21. Septuagint in Sinaitic MS. (Is. i. 1-3.)

22. Septuagint in Vatican MS. (Ps. i. ii. 1-3.)

23. Assyrian or Babylonian Vowel-points.
24. The later Vowel-points.
25. Jerusalem.—After M. Van de Velde.
26. Clementine Epistle.—From the Alexandrian MS. in the British Museum, *Cat. Bibliothecæ Regiæ* 1. D. v—viii., in four large double-columned quarto volumes. Cyrillus Lucaris, formerly Bishop of Alexandria, and afterwards Patriarch of Constantinople, brought this MS. with him to the latter city, and in the year 1628 presented it to our King Charles I., for whom it had been sent by Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador to the Sultan. In the first volume Cyril wrote with his own hand on the first page a note to the following effect:—"This Book of Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, as we have from tradition, is written by the hand of Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, about one thousand three hundred years ago, soon after the Council of Nicaea. The name of Thecla was written at the end of the book, but when Christianity was extinguished in Egypt by the Mohammedans, the books of Christians were reduced to the same condition as the Christians themselves, and the name of Thecla was deleted and torn, but memory and tradition still preserve it. *Cyrillus Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus.*" On the second page there is an Arabic sentence, meaning, "They relate that this book was written by the hand of Thecla a martyr." The present judgment of critics assigns the manuscript to the fifth century, probably about the middle. Besides the Canonical Books, it contains the Epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus, first Bishop of Embrun, concerning the interpretation of the Psalms. This is prefixed to the Psalter. The Gospels have the Canons of Eusebius. The manuscript contains the apocryphal books of Tobit, Judith, Four Books of Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, and Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach. Also the two Epistles of Clement, and several of the Scriptural Hymns, with the Morning Hymn, *Δοξα εν υψιστοις θεω.*
27. Bethlehem.—After M. Van de Velde.
28. Augustus.
29. Tiberius.
30. Kedron.—After M. Van de Velde.
31. Arch of Titus; photograph.

32. Arch of Titus: drawn and explained by Bellori.
33. Inscription on a Sarcophagus in the Tomb of the Kings. (Cut in the page.)
34. Theseus.
35. The Acropolis of Athens.
36. The Acropolis and the Areopagus. (Wood-cut in the page.)
37. Nero.
38. Sculptured Pillar from the Temple of Diana in Ephesus.
39. Inscription from the Temple of Jerusalem.
40. View of Nablus, where stood Shechem.—After M. Van de Velde.
41. The Deluge-tablet, Obverse and Reverse read by Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum.
42. Trajan.
43. The Greek Original of the New Testament, from the Sinaitic MS. of the whole Bible, called *Sinaitic* because it was discovered in the Convent on Mount Sinai by M. Tischendorf, and purchased by him from the heads of the College in Cairo, acting for the patriarch, in September, 1859. Besides the canonical books and others usually found in early manuscripts, it contains an *entire* copy of the Epistle of Barnabas, which for centuries had been sought in vain, and part of "The Shepherd" of Hermas. The eminent discoverer refers this codex to the first half of the fourth century, about the time of the first Christian Emperor. It is deposited in the Royal Library of St. Petersburg, being the property of the Emperor of Russia. The circumstances of the discovery of this most ancient manuscript have been related in German by Tischendorf himself, and his narrative is extensively translated. A full account may also be found in his first *Prolegomenon* prefixed to a sumptuous edition, as nearly a fac-simile of the entire work as type could make it, and published in four square folio volumes at the expense of the Emperor of Russia with the following title:—*Bibliorum codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus. Auspiciis augustissimis Imperatoris Alexandri II. Ex tenebris protraxit, in Europam transtulit, ad juvandas atque illustrandas sacras literas edidit, Constantius Tischendorf. Petropoli MDCCCLXII.* It may be noted here that the apocryphal 151st Psalm is added to the Psalter, with the note prefixed

that David wrote that psalm with his own hand on the occasion of his single combat with Goliath. In the New Testament a feature demanding serious attention is the absence of verses 9—20 of the last chapter of the gospel according to St. Mark, wherein this manuscript agrees with the Codex Vaticanus, and other respectable authorities. Our plate contains the beginning of John i. to the middle of the sixth verse.

44. Syriac Old Testament. One of the Curetonian MSS. in the British Museum (14,451). This column contains Deut. xix. 2—5.

45. Syriac New Testament. From the same MS. This column contains Luke xi. 24—28, ending in the middle of the 28th verse with the words *blessed are they*. A division of sections is marked in the middle of the column, where in the Syrian Lectionary begins "*the Lesson for the Feast of Mary Mother of God.*" This is the oldest Syriac biblical MS. yet known.

46. Latin. Page from a MS. of the four gospels, brought from Rome by the monk Augustine. There were two of these. Thomas of Elmham (*Hist.* Monast. S. Augustini Cantuar., pp. 97, 98.) describes them as being very much alike. Each had the Eusebian canons. When they were in the old monastery in Canterbury one was kept in the library, and the other in the vestry. At present, one is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the other, from which a photograph was taken for this work by the kindness of the Rev. H. O. Coxe, is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It contains John iv. 29—39.

47. Latin. From Alcuin's Bible, so called. Brit. Museum, MSS. Add. 10,546. The MS. is certainly believed to have been written, under the direction of Alcuin, for the Emperor Charlemagne, and by his order. As Charlemagne reigned over the whole empire, A.D. 771—814, this book may certainly be assigned to the latter part of the eighth century. "*The text is in the Hieronymian version, as corrected by Alcuin.*" After passing through various hands, between the years 1589 and 1607, it became the property of the Chapter of Grand Val, in France. At length it came into the possession of M. Speyr Passavant of Bâle, from whom the British Museum bought it in June, 1836, for £750 It is a magnificent large folio parchment volume—the skins

might be almost called imperishable—with two columns on the page. The text is divided into *capitula*. A recent hand has written in the margins the numbers of the modern chapters in Arabic numerals, the original notation being in Roman minuscule letters. By way of example we note some of the capitular divisions comparatively, as follows:—Genesis lxxxii. 50, Exodus cxxxix. 40, Leviticus lxxxix. 27, Numbers lxxiv. 36, Deuteronomy clv. 34. The early capitula are continued throughout, with the following exceptions: The Canticles are written in the form of a dialogue, with red-letter headings, and the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, with apocryphal additions, Tobias, Judith, and Maccabees, are not divided into capitula. The apocryphal 151st Psalm follows the Psalter, and an Epistle to the Laodiceans precedes the Apocalypse. The Gospels have the canons, and a similar table is prefixed to the Epistles. The scribe adds some verses on the reverse of the last leaf. Then comes a supplicatory invocation, not thought of by the scribe himself, *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, under which the prior, archdeacon, and capitulars of Grand Val declare that the Saints Germanus and Randobaldus are possessors of this book, and that it must never be alienated from the monastery. Sir Frederick Madden wrote a critical account of this MS. in the Gentlemen's Magazine for October, 1836. The tracing before us contains Is. i. 1.

48. Egyptian. Papyrus with Greek. Papyri xxxvii. c. 22 in British Museum. Part of the Book of Psalms, purchased from Dr. Hogg in 1836. The page on leaf 22 begins with Ps. xxvi. 12 at *μοι μαρτυρες*, and ends with xxvii. 2, at *προς ναον αγιον σου*. The date is not ascertained, but it belongs to a time anterior to oldest known manuscript of the New Testament. Compared with the few specimens accessible of the Ptolemean period, also written on papyrus, it must be classed with them. The character is the same, and at first glance might be taken for cursive, but should rather be called Egyptian. The letters, taken separately, are partly uncial and partly cursive, yet not written cursively. A question is here suggested whether the distinctly uncial and cursive styles of writing may not have been adopted later, by mere separation of the two forms.

49. Egyptian.—Papyrus with Sahidic. Papyri xiii. 4. in British Museum. Four leaves of John xx. in the Sahidic dialect. Purchased by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in 1834.

50. Gothic.—A *Skeireins*, or Exposition, of the Gospel according to St. John, from a palimpsest of Fronton in the Vatican. Reduced from Silvestre. Assigned to the sixth century. The left edge of the manuscript has been *torn away*, and three initial letters, which should mark the beginning of sentences, are consequently lost. An A from the third line, a G from the eleventh, and an A from the nineteenth.

51. Armenian.—A manuscript containing the Four Gospels, and believed to be of the tenth century. Additional MSS., 19,727. Plutarch ccxxiii. B. Purchased for the British Museum on the 14th January, 1854, from W. B. Parker, Esq. Contains Matt. xiv. 13—19.

52. Ethiopic.—From the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Contains Exod. xxix. 9—21.

53. Arabic.—British Museum. Bibl. Arundel. Cod. Oriental 20. Plut. ccxvii. F. Contains Luke i. 1—13. The daily Lessons are marked in Syriac in the margins. The page before us contains part of the Lesson for the Annunciation of Zacharias.

54. Slavonic.—This page, containing Matt. i. 1—10, is borrowed from a volume published in Moscow, by Bishop Sabas in 1863, and represents a manuscript of the twelfth century, having the following note :—*Hoc specimine repraesentatur codex quatuor Evangeliorum membranaceus in* 4° *foliorum* 260 *litteris uncialibus mediis scriptus. Fuit antea dedicatum ecclesiae cathedrali de Crylos in Galicia (ubi fortasse, etiam scriptus est), atque inde* Evangelium Galicense *vulgo dicitur.* But perhaps this describes the original MS. said to have been written in 1143, which must have been copied, for the lines at the foot of the page are thus translated by Mr. Natky of the British Museum :—"These books were written in the year 1655. They were begun October 1st, and finished November 19th."

55. Karaite Tartar.—From the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Contains Levit. viii. middle of verse 30, to ix. middle of verse 10. Pinkerton MS. Described in the text at page 229.

56. WALDENSIAN MS.—From the University College Library, Cambridge. Contains Matt. vii. 11—26.
57. PARAPHRASTIC.—Cottonian. Caligula. A vii. The Heliand. Described in the text at page 244.
58. ENGLISH.—The Durham Book. Cottonian. Nero D. iv. Described in the text at page 246.
59. ENGLISH.—Page from Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of the Pentateuch and book of Joshua. Cottonian. Claudius B. iv. fol. 22 b. Described in text at page 250.
60. ENGLISH.—Anglo-Saxon. A fragment from the Cottonian collection, Otho. c. 1. This was, when perfect, a folio volume written on 260 leaves of vellum, but is much burnt and contracted from the fire which destroyed Sir R. Cotton's Library. For some time it was preserved in a case, but is now inlaid and bound. It contains the best part of the Four Gospels, the four dialogues of St. Gregory, and some other articles. Translated in the text at page 251.
61. ENGLISH.—WYCLIFFE. From Sion College, London. Contains Luke viii. 28—39.

WERTHEIMER, LEA AND CO., PRINTERS, FINSBURY CIRCUS.

FIG. 1.

HEBRON.

BIBLICAL MONUMENTS.

OLD TESTAMENT.

A WIDE field of illustration lies before us, although our view must be limited to original monuments of high antiquity, and for the most part contemporaneous with those portions of the sacred records to which they relate. The writer therefore studies to be brief, yet not to be obscure, but clear and direct. The pencil will assist the pen.

Egypt.

SOMEWHERE in the open wilderness of Idumæa, in the track of caravans that came from Arabia and the East to trade with Egypt, or where fugitives from lands northward, often invaded by predatory Assyrians, were seeking refuge and homes on the banks of the Nile, a company of Midianitish traders bought a fine young shepherd-boy from his own brothers, nomades, encamped near the beaten way. When they reached the north-eastern province of Lower Egypt, or Land of On, they sold their new-made slave to Potiphar, captain of the king's guard, commonly called *chief of the executioners*, שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים, a title alike significant of their pitiless nature, and of the work those men had to do.

This happened six-and-thirty centuries ago. The lad's name was Joseph. His age seventeen years. His father's name Jacob. His great-grandfather Abraham, ancestor of the Hebrew people.

Egypt, Assyria and China were then the chief nations

of the world; but whatever written monuments or oral traditions existed among them, there were not, so far as we know, any written histories in the Gentile world until many ages after Moses, the first Hebrew historian. But materials for history in Egypt and Babylonia, if not in all the ancient world, from the Deluge onward, had rapidly accumulated.

Until this nineteenth century of ours was far advanced, the ancient monuments of Egypt, in pictured hieroglyphic, and the hieratic, or priestly, with the demotic, or popular writing, had, from time immemorial, ceased to be intelligible. But Egyptian literature was probably known to Joseph. Moses, learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, must have understood it thoroughly, and the most trustworthy glimpses of the state of Egypt, while in the height of its power and prosperity, are to be caught in the Old Testament. After this we possessed only some imperfect, and often incorrect notices in the works of Herodotus, in those of Josephus, who borrows from sources long ago lost, and in a few others of lesser value.

But now the elements of genuine history are daily recovered from the tombs, the temples, the colossal sculptures, and the papyrus-rolls of Egypt. There is already a library of modern Egyptology, and we are greatly indebted to a German, Heinrich Brugsch, who has provided ample materials for the study of the ancient language and writings, and for an admirably written history composed by himself, within sight, so to speak, of the monuments themselves.

Brugsch confirms a conjecture of some of his predecessors that the Pharaoh who sent for Joseph from the prison to interpret his dreams, raised him to be second in the kingdom, and eventually gave welcome to Jacob and

his family, was a sovereign of the Eighteenth Dynasty, *Ra-Apepi the Second.* He ascertains that this Pharaoh was then resident in *Ha-Ouar*, a city marked Avaris in some of the maps, near the eastern border of Lower Egypt, not far from On, afterwards called Heliopolis, or City of the Sun (Is. xix. 18). The province was Goshen, where the Hebrews afterwards dwelt, also called in Genesis the land of Rameses (Gen. xlv. 10; xlvii. 11). The author of the book of Genesis knew both the city Rameses and the man.

It was probably at Ha-Ouar that Apepi received Joseph's father and brothers, with their servants. There may not be any visible record of their arrival, but there is a picture which might almost be taken for it. It was found in a tomb by Champollion, has been copied often as a favourite illustration, and is now fully explained in translation by Brugsch, who thus translates a legend that is written on it. "A family of Asiatics of the descendants of Shem. For some unknown reason they are come. There are thirty-seven persons in the party—men, women, and children. They are in presence of the governor of the nome *Sâh*, *Chnúnhótep* by name. A royal scribe, named *Nefer-hótep*, presents to the monarch a leaf of papyrus with an inscription dated in the sixth year of *Osirtasen II.* The chief of the family, named *Abû-Sâ*, respectfully approaches the person of *Chnúnhótep*, and offers him the present of a wild buck. He is followed by companions armed with lances, clubs and bows. Over the picture there is written, 'Come to present the cosmetic of Mesram, which the thirty-seven Aâms offer him.'"*

Osirtasen II., another king of the Eighteenth Dynasty

---

* M. Henri Brugsch: *Histoire d'Egypte dès les premiers temps.* Leipzig, 1859. Tome i., p. 63.

of Shepherd-kings, all friendly with their fellow immigrants from Asia, such as Joseph and his family, was probably one of the Pharaohs in whose reign Joseph was in power. The mention of cosmetic in the legend may seem trifling, yet it reminds one of the "little balm, and a little honey, spices and myrrh, nuts and almonds," sent down by Jacob, from the same country, and we shall presently remember it again, when we hear of other gifts sent over in time of famine from Arabia.

It is true that Chnúnhótep may not be Joseph, and indeed it bears no resemblance to *Zaphnath Paaneach*, his Egyptian name. It is also certain that most writers now take it for granted that there is no monumental sign of the seven years' plenty or the seven years' famine; but this is not correct.

Arabia.

Recent discovery turns our thoughts into a new direction, whither we must ask our readers to follow us. There can be no doubt that Job was an Arab. The Arabised character of the Hebrew in the book that bears his name, and all that can be known or reasonably conjectured of Uz, Teman, Shuakh, and Naámah, mark Job and his friends as Arabs, geographically, or nearly so. The patriarch's allusion (Job xix. 23, 24) to writing with a pen of iron, and with lead, in a rock, for the sake of perpetual preservation, agrees with the fact that Arabia, from the wilderness of Sinai down to the forlorn shores of Hadramáut, is remarkable for inscriptions on the live rock, and for the preservation of those inscriptions to the present time. At least one rock-inscription from Hadramáut, with other Arabian documents, can now be laid side by side with the Mosaic account of the famine in Egypt.

FIG. 2.

ASIATICS BRINGING GIFTS TO EGYPT.

FIG. 3.

HISN-GHÔRAB INSCRIPTION.

In the year 1834, two British officers, Messrs. Wellsted and Cruttenden, cruising along the south coast of Arabia, eastward from the British naval station at Aden, being in latitude 14 north, and longitude east of Greenwich 48° 10′, espied an opening in the tall cliff, and found it to be the entrance of a harbour running far inland, and overhung with lofty hills. On one of those hills they discovered what no European navigator had ever reported, — the ruins of an ancient town of great extent, now apparently without inhabitant. Elevated over all are the remains of what was once a formidable tower. A solemn silence in that unbroken solitude brooded over what had once been the site of no mean city. Arabs of the desert, wandering in tents, like the sons of Rechab, had a traditional knowledge of the place, and called it *Hisn Ghorâb*, the Castle of Ghorâb.* It had been a chief city of the Himyarite Arabs during some part, if not all, of an empire that lasted 2,500 years,† but at length, in the sixth century of the Christian Era, became extinct.

A few years ago, Captain Haines, C.B., Commander of the "Palinurus," when on service on the coast between Cape Tártaque and Hisn Ghorâb, having met with the chief of a tribe of Bedouins, questioned him as to the origin of his tribe. "We are the sons of Ad, the son of Aws (Uz), the son of Aram, the son of Shem, the son of Noah,"‡ was the chief's proud reply. In this newly-explored region there are many rock-inscriptions of the kind alluded to by Job, the man of Uz, of the same lineage, and in a part of the same country. One of them was in

* See Kiepert's Map of Arabia for Ritter's *Erdkunde*.

† *Abulfedæ Historia Anteislamica*. Edit. H. O. Fleischer. Leipzig, 1831. Lib. IV. *De Regibus Arabum*.

‡ Haines' *Memoir of the South and East Coasts of Arabia*.

the old castle. It consists of ten lines, and is descriptive of the flourishing condition of the once well-peopled city, and of the surrounding country, at a very remote period. The language and character are known as Himyaritic, and the following is believed to be a closely literal translation.

1. We dwelt . living luxuriously . . . in . . the Zenanas . . . of this spacious mansion, our condition exempt from misfortune . and adversity . Rolled in through our channel
2. the sea swelling against our castle . . . with angry surge . . our fountains flowed . . with murmuring fall . . above .
3. . . The lofty palms . . whose keepers . . the dry dates . . flung broad-cast over our valley date-grounds . . they cast from the hand . . the arid rice
4. . . We hunted . . the mountain-goats . . also . the young hares . . on the hills . . with ropes . . and reeds . . beguiling them . . we drew forth the struggling fishes
5. . . We walked with slow proud gait . . in . . needle-worked . . many-coloured silk vestments . . whole silks . . grass-green . . chequered . . robes
6. Over us . . presided . . Kings . . far . . removed . . from . . baseness, and stern chastisers of reprobate and wicked men . . and they noted down for us according to the doctrine of Hûd .
7. Good . . judgments written in a book . . to be kept . . and we believed . . in . . the miracle-mystery . . and in . . the resurrection-mystery . . and in . . the nostril-mystery
8. Made an inroad . . robbers . . and would do us violence . . collectively we galloped forth we and our

generous youth .. with stiff .. and sharp-pointed spears rushing onward.

9. Proud champions of our families and our wives .. fighting valiantly upon coursers .. with long necks .. dun-coloured .. iron gray .. and bright bay

10. .. With our swords .. still wounding and piercing our adversaries . until .. charging home we conquered and crushed this refuse of mankind.

Richard Pococke, an Oriental traveller of the last century, found ten lines of the Arabic poet Kazwíni, which he published as a specimen of Arabic poetry, and it is now found to be a translation, line for line and word for word, of the ancient Himyaritic rock-inscription in the castle of Ghorâb. Albert Schultens also published his transcript of the same, and another also from Kazwíni, with the account of their origin prefixed, thus:—

"Poems of the highest antiquity, found on marbles amidst the ruins of a fortress on the coast of Hadramáut, in the neighbourhood of the emporium of Aden." The Arabic version of the first, as rendered by the Rev. Charles Forster, affords but one suggestion for better understanding of its original, and that is at the seventh line, which is made more clear by the translation, "Resurrection from the dead *by the breath of God*," the allusion of the Himyaritic being to the Mosaic account of the creation of Adam, when God *breathed into his nostrils* the breath of life. This is the "nostril mystery."

The second poem, as given in Arabic by Schultens, and translated by Forster, related the interruption of prosperity *after seven years of abundance*, and mentions Joseph. We must all unite with our late learned countryman in hoping that the original of this also may be found at Hisn Ghorâb.

1. We dwelt at ease in this castle a long tract of time; nor had
   we a desire but for the region-lord of the vineyard.
2. Hundreds of camels returned to us each day at evening,
   their eye pleasant to behold in their resting-places.
3. And twice the number of our camels were our sheep,
   in comeliness like white does, and also the slow-moving kine.
4. We dwelt in this castle *seven years*
   of good life—how difficult for memory its description!
5. *Then came years barren and burnt up:*
   when one evil year had passed away, then came another to succeed it.
6. And we became as though we had never seen a glimpse of good.
   They died, and neither foot nor hoof remained.
7. Thus fares it with him who renders not thanks to God:
   His footsteps fail not to be blotted out from his dwelling.

Here a distinct mention of seven years of plenty in Arabia, and of many successive years of barrenness and famine, exactly corresponds with the account in Genesis (xli. 56, 57), that "the famine was over all the face of the earth: and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto all the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And *all countries came into Egypt for to buy corn;* because that the famine was so sore in all lands." But Joseph could not empty the storehouses of Egypt to satisfy the cravings of all lands, nor sell away the bread of Egypt at any price, when money became less precious than bread.

Such was the state of things when a lady in Yemen wrote, or when in her name were written, to be inscribed on her sepulchre, some impressive lines. Ebn Hesham relates that a flood of rain had made bare a sepulchre in Yemen in which lay a woman, having on her neck seven collars of pearls, and on her hands and feet bracelets and armlets and ankle-rings, seven on each; and on every finger a ring, in which was set a jewel of great price; and at her head a coffer filled with treasure, and a tablet with this inscription:—

"In thy name, O God, the God of Himyar,
I Tajah, the daughter of Dzu Shefar, sent my steward to Joseph,
And he delaying to return to me, I sent my handmaid
With a measure of silver, to bring me back a measure of flour:
And not being able to procure it, I sent her with a measure of gold:
And not being able to procure it, I sent her with a measure of pearls:
And not being able to procure it, I commanded them to be ground:
And finding no profit in them, I am shut up here.
Whosoever may hear of it, let him commiserate me;
And should any woman adorn herself with an ornament
From my ornaments, may she die with no other than my death." *

Inexorable with the Arabian princess, severe with his own brethren, proof against the blandishments of Potiphar's wife, yet susceptible of every pure and generous affection, this saviour of Egypt was ever consistent with himself.

* See Niebuhr's *Voyage en Arabie*, Pl. LIX. For this translation also we are indebted to Mr. Forster.

Egyptian Monuments.

M. BRUGSCH, whom we shall now follow, observes that the king who arose that did not know Joseph, was of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and, like the rest of them, treated the Shemites of Canaan as enemies, and often made hostile incursions into their country. This was Thothmes I. He carried hostilities into Mesopotamia, the *Aram-naharaim* of the Old Testament, and *Naharina* in the inscriptions. Thothmes II. made his conquests in Arabia. Thothmes III. exceeded them both during a very long reign, and a long inscription at Karnac recounts several long campaigns in Assyria and in Palestine. In those campaigns he collected vast numbers of prisoners, whom he employed in public works, together with the slave-population previously obtained from Ethiopia, in Africa, and from other countries. The enslaved Hebrews, like all others, were made use of in producing bricks and building palaces and temples.

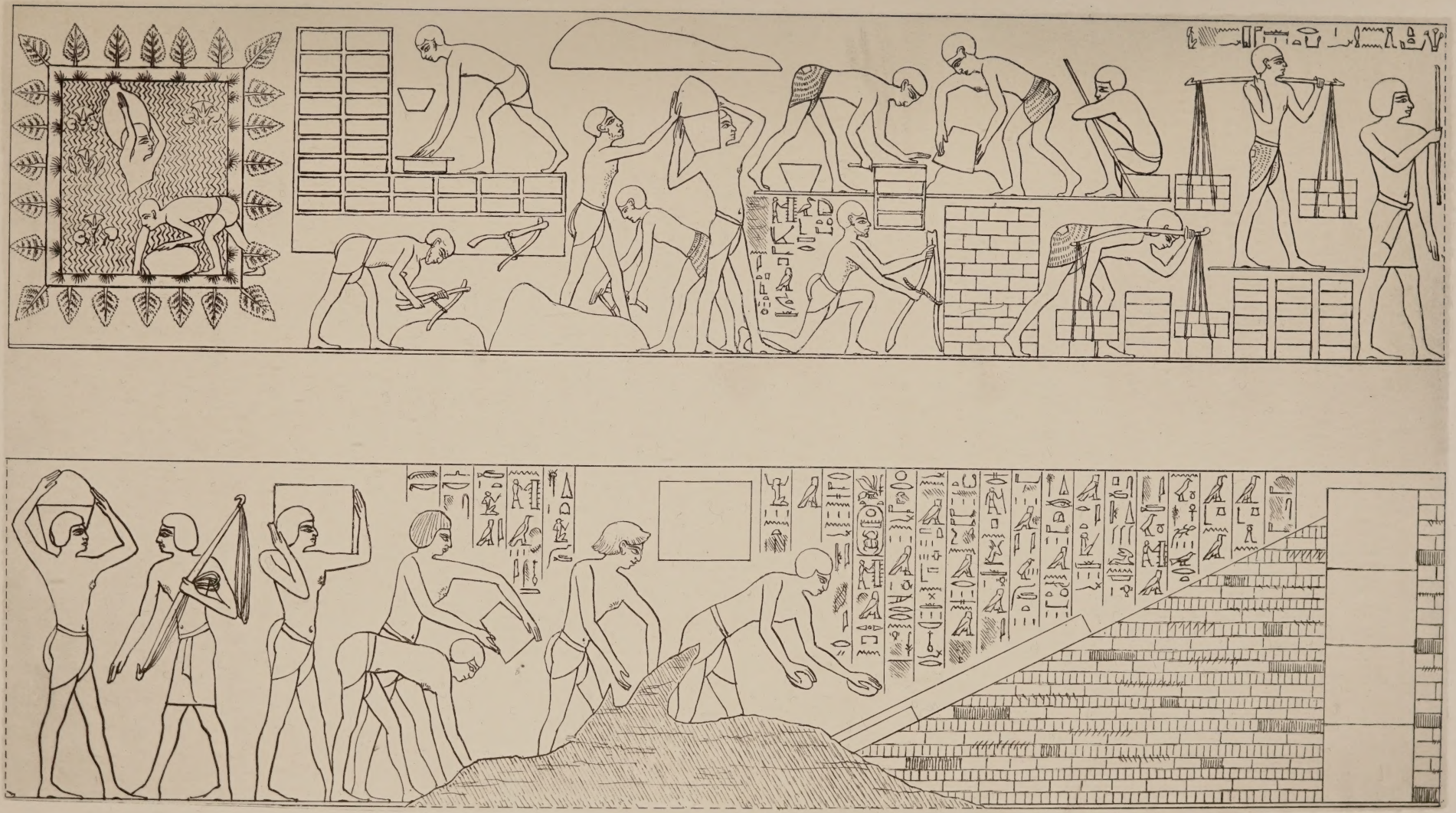
"A very curious picture, discovered in the walls of a funeral-chapel at *Abd-el-Kurna*, in Thebes, exhibits prisoners hard at work making bricks, and building the walls of a temple of Ammon. Task-masters, armed with clubs, watch their labour, and inscriptions tell that they are captives taken by his holiness to build the temple of his father Ammon.

"This excellently illustrates the Scripture, which says that Pharaoh set over them task-masters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Rameses." (Exod. i. 11.)* The *building* of a city, it must be remembered, does not always signify the

* BRUGSCH, *ut supra*, p. 106.

FIG. 4.

PRISONERS MAKING BRICKS.



founding, but often rather the enlargement and adorning, or completion of one founded long before. Rameses II., it is said, enlarged and beautified the second of those two treasure-cities, which was founded two hundred years earlier, and gave it his own name, "city of Rameses," on occasion of a victory over the Hethians, when he made a triumphal entry there, as is related on papyrus rolls, and in an inscription which may now be seen.*

Egypt abounded in monuments to this mightiest of the Pharaohs, and pride of the Nineteenth Dynasty, under whose crushing tyranny the Hebrews groaned in bitter bondage. M. Champollion procured a drawing of a colossal statue of him, as it lay supine among the ruins of a temple in the *Wadi Essebúa*, in Nubia. There it lies: not only a memorial of the man, but a long-enduring symbol of the degradation of Egypt through ages of abandonment, after the unchecked predominance of brute force, most senseless idolatry, contempt of humanity, and open defiance of the One Living and True God.

The statue is a colossal monolith, one of several which once adorned the court of his palace-temple. It represents the Pharaoh bearing a sacred ensign, decorated with a ram's head, in honour of the God Ammon. When the statue was erect, the diadem around its head was surmounted with the *pschent*, or royal mitre, cut from a separate block of porphyry, which rolled off when the colossus fell, and is lost. The figure is nearly naked, having only a cloth about the middle, which is held on by a belt, with the royal legend cut into it, and carrying a dagger that once had a hawk's head on the hilt. It is a walking figure, having one leg advanced, and a female behind,

---

* *Ibid.*, p. 158.

perhaps his wife, comparatively diminutive of course, looks up meekly to him, and directs his steps.

An historical tablet of Rameses II., relating to the gold-mines of Ethiopia, contains extravagant ascriptions of divinity to him. Every part and member of his body is honoured as the seat of some divine perfection, and all Egypt lies at his feet in prostrate adoration.* The insolence of Menephthâh, his successor, when defying the God of the Hebrews, was but in agreement with the pride of the Pharaohs and their flatterers. A monument of Heremhel, an earlier king of the Eighteenth Dynasty (B.C. 1476—1464), affords a complete example. The king, in the character of a conqueror, is carried by military chiefs in a rich palanquin, attended by slaves carrying fans to cool him. Other slaves prepare the way for the cortége. Warriors follow, leading captive princes. Soldiers again follow, carrying shields, with a trumpeter marching before them. A group of Egyptian functionaries, sacerdotal and civil, receive the king, and pay him homage. The hieroglyphic legend is as follows: "The gracious god returns, after having subdued all peoples. His bow is in his hand, as that of Lord of the Thebaid. The potent king. The glorious. He brings the chief of the vile country of Ethiopia. He returns from Ethiopia with the booty he has taken by force, as his father Ammon had ordained." The poor captive negroes perforce give their acclamations, and address the Pharaoh with the following panegyric: "Bow down thy face, O Pharaoh, King of Egypt! Conqueror of the new peoples! Great is thy name in the land of Ethiopia, and thy war-cries in its places.

* See a paper on the subject of this Tablet, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq. London, 1852.

FIG. 5

COLOSSAL HEAD OF RAMESES II.

FIG. 6.

PROSTRATE STATUE OF RAMESES II.

Thy valour, even thine, O King, hath defeated nations. Pharaoh is the sun to shine upon me!"*

In the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Rameses II., according to the most probable computation, Moses was born. In his palace the Hebrew child was brought up, received his earliest lessons in the wisdom of the Egyptians, and perhaps, also, in the state and art of royalty. Often fondled by this most mighty of the kings of Egypt,—if Josephus received a true tradition,—Moses could never have known the broken spirit of a slave, but must rather have imbibed a consciousness of social superiority, and fitness to be the leader of his people.

A colossal head of Rameses the Great is one of the chief remains of Egyptian sculpture in the British Museum.

It is remarkable that the very name given to the Hebrew foundling by Pharaoh's daughter, was also borne by seven princes of African Ethiopia. The proper Egyptian name, as we read, was *Mes*, or *Mesu*. Now Moses was about eighty years old when he came back to Egypt, and if Rameses the Great reigned sixty-six years, according to Manethó, and Menephthâh, his son, immediately succeeded him, and reigned twenty years, that would make the Exode coincident with the termination of the latter reign.

This Menephthâh left a few monuments of some victories of lesser importance over the Libyans in Lower Egypt, but he did no great work, whatever he might have projected, beyond the erection of a few buildings. He did, however, lay heavy burdens on the slave-population for making bricks, as if to be in readiness for some extensive structures, just as the writer of the Book of Exodus relates. Exactly in agreement with this prominent feature in the

---

* Brugsch, *ut supra*, p. 124.

Mosaic history is the information of M. Brugsch, who found on a papyrus an order for forced labour. It runs thus:—"*For the execution of building for twelve years. The men for making bricks in their . . . shall be taken to the works at the house . . . to make the number of bricks daily, without any rest from their work in brick.*"*

The Exode.

Now the entire multitude of Hebrew slaves, and that mixed multitude of which Moses speaks, companions in bondage, and companions in deliverance, they who journeyed together from Rameses to Succoth, (Exod. xii. 38) captives of many tribes, stolen from neighbouring lands of Africa and Asia, treacherously enslaved together with the Hebrews, they sent up one continuous wail of distress to heaven. The Lord, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the God of their fathers, heard the cry, called Moses, who had taken refuge in the pasture-lands of Midian, and sent him into Egypt, with his brother Aaron, to demand release. The record of Moses' mission, and the consequent deliverance of the people, as given in the Book of Exodus, needs not be repeated here. The Mosaic narrative is clear and graphic, such as only eye-witnesses can write. Arabian traditions and Roman histories unite in corroborative evidence. East and West alike resound with echoes of the fame which has been heard throughout the world.

Tacitus, for example, professes to have learned from the general consent of authors, that the Jews, as he calls them,†

---

* Brugsch, *ut supra*, p. 106.

† Tacitus could only repeat what he had heard, and his affirmation of a *general consent* of authors is the most valuable part of his account. But a word about the *name* he gives the Israelites. This people, in the time of Moses, and certainly until the secession of the Ten Tribes, after the

were driven from Egypt by the advice of an oracle, because they had brought some fatal disease upon the Egyptians,—that Moses offered himself to be their leader, —that he actually led them through a desert, and then gave them the code of laws by which they were thenceforth governed.*

Perhaps Trojus Pompeius, half a century before Christ, was the first who committed to writing this perverse tradition of the Mosaic exode, an event that could neither be understood by the Gentiles, nor forgotten.

Eusebius, indefatigable collector of ancient writings, has many pages in the *Proparascué*, or Evangelical Preparation, covered with extracts from spurious histories of Moses, unfriendly indeed, yet even on that account the more worthy of perusal. His authors all relate fabulous tales concerning this glorious issue of his extraordinary mission, and tell dark tales of what Moses himself narrates, without a shadow of obscurity. Such an agreement of enemies who would be glad to blot out the name of Moses from the pages of history, is in itself strongly corroborative evidence of the historic truth of Moses' writings. The most absurd fictions of an Artanabus† cannot possibly

---

death of Solomon, were only known as *Hebrews*, and after the constitution of Jacob's descendants into a separate nation, they were called *Israelites*, from their father's new name Israel. The *Jews*, יהודים, or men of the tribe of Judah, did not give their name to the scattered members of the family until after the Babylonian captivity, and even that appropriation of their tribal name might not have taken place but for the circumstance that the tribe of Judah was most eminent at Babylon, the royal city, and was most worthily represented there. Whoever would speak with historic accuracy, should adapt his phrase to the different periods of history, and correctly name the persons of whom he speaks. Tacitus failed in this respect.

* *Taciti Historiarum*, Lib. V.

† *Evangelical Preparation*, Book IX.

obscure the passages in the Book of Exodus, which they substantially confirm.

Before taking leave of the Egyptian captivity, it may be well to observe that the chronology of the Old Testament is not yet finally revised and settled. Perhaps it never will be. Neither is the chronology of Egypt. There was no chronological science in the world in the pre-historic ages, and the impossibility of ascertaining every date must not be admitted as a reason for throwing discredit upon historical events.*

---

* Archbishop Ussher and M. Brugsch do not quite agree, nor do they very widely differ. The following notes on reigns of the 17th, 18th, and 19th Egyptian Dynasties may be helpful.

Dynasty XVII.—*Arab, or Shepherd-kings.*

1. Salatis,	reigned	19	years,	B.C. 2115—2096.	
2. Buon,	,,	44	,,	2096—2052.	
3. Apachnah,	,,	37	,,	2052—2015.	
4. Apepi I.,	,,	61	,,	2015—1954.	
5. Jannah,	,,	50	,,	1954—1904.	
6. Assi,	,,	49	,,	1904—1855.	*Abraham in Egypt.*

Dynasty XVIII.—*Arab, or Shepherd-kings.*

From B.C. 1855 to 1464. Names not all certain. *Joseph captive* B.C. 1751, *c.*

Dynasty XIX.—*Diospolite Kings.*

1. Rameses I.,	reigned	8	years,	B.C. 1464—1458.	
2. Sethi I.,	,,	51	,,	1458—1407.	
3. Rameses II.,	,,	66	,,	1407—1341.	Moses born B.C. 1401.
4. Menephthâh I.,	,,	20	,,	1341—1321.	Exode B.C. 1321.
5. Sethi II., Menephthâh II.	,,	21	,,	1321—1300.	
6. Amenemah,	,,	5	,,	1300—1295.	
7. Thuaris Siptah and his wife Taouser,	,,	7	,,	1295—1288.	

Wilderness of Sinai.

But no sooner have the Israelites crossed the sea, and entered on their forty years' sojourn in the wilderness of Sinai, than they become their own chroniclers, and the records which we are to quote will be henceforth strictly monumental, and both visibly and palpably confirmatory of nearly all the chief events related by the sacred historians of the Old Testament. Whether or not the inscriptions in the Wadi Mukatteb in the peninsula of Sinai were carved in the rocks by the Israelites of the Exode has latterly been a question of antiquarian controversy. The existence of some inscriptions there had been matter of rumour, if not of actual report, for two thousand years or more, but *what* they were, no one could confidently say. At length, however, we have actual transcriptions which ought to put an end to controversy. M. Lottin de Laval, a *savant* who had successfully fulfilled other scientific missions in the East, was authorised by the French Minister of Public Instruction and Worship to proceed to the Wilderness of the Wandering, search for the inscriptions, ascertain what they were, and report accordingly.*

In the month of February, 1851, M. Lottin crossed the gulf of Suez from Egypt, and landed on that part of the Arabian shore where Moses and Israel must have set foot after their passage through the sea, and where they sang their song unto the Lord because he had triumphed gloriously (Exod. xv.). He soon found himself at what are called by the Arabs "the wells of Moses," where the water is nauseous, very acrid, and more salt than the water of the Caspian sea. One only of the wells afforded water

* Appendix A.

that could be drunk at all, but even that would not be tasted a second time any where else than in the frightful desert where it oozes from the earth. Domestic animals in Europe would refuse to drink it. It seemed to be a mere imperfect filtering from the Red sea. That must be the place called Marah, *bitterness*, in the book of Exodus.

From Marah he came to Elim, where now, as thirty-two centuries ago, there are palm-trees and springs of good water, making the place lovely and refreshing. Further on he found what seemed to be abandoned mines; streams tainted with copper made him and his party sick, and in that state the more able to imagine the wretchedness which had made the Israelites to murmur. Thence their guide led them onward to the plain of the Four Wadis, where they came to a bold and lofty rock of red sand-stone, with huge and shapeless blocks detached, and lying at its base. On these he found numerous inscriptions in different languages, evidently written in old times by travellers or pilgrims of various races, and almost justifying the conclusion of observers who had not pushed their inquiries much further, that the so-called Sinaitic inscriptions were all of the same kind, and made in the middle ages. Leaving these, he passed on to the famous *Wadi Mokatteb*, where his work began.

Here his experience in ancient inscriptions enabled him to distinguish the veritably Mosaic from all that was later, certainly from the mediæval, and concentrating his attention upon them, he made casts, or took "squeezes" of the inscriptions of highest antiquity. More than three hundred of them, with exquisitely beautiful drawings of the neighbouring scenery, wild and majestic as it is, are collected in the volume of plates which accompanies the narrative

of his operations.* Nothing less than a perusal of that narrative could convey a just appreciation of his perseverance, faithfulness, chastened enthusiasm, and reverence.

The written character of these Sinaitic inscriptions partakes of resemblances to the Phenician and the Himyaritic, but is distinct from both. The Rev. Charles Forster of Silsted transferred many of them to a splendid volume of his own, with translations and comments, honestly exulting in the issue of long-continued and laborious literary work, in spite of all the contradiction and mistrust he had encountered. Great is our indebtedness to Mr. Forster for these labours and the latest fruit of them in his "Sinai Photographed."

Several inscriptions relate to the passage through the Red sea, and agree precisely with the scriptural account.

The wind blowing, the sea dividing into parts, they pass over. (No. I.)

The Hebrews flee through the sea; the sea is turned into dry land. (No. IV.)

The waters permitted and dismissed to flow, burst rushing unawares upon the astonished men, congregated from all quarters, banded together to slay treacherously, being lifted up with pride. (No. V.)

The leader divideth asunder the sea, its waves roaring.

The people enter, and pass through the midst of the waters. (No. X.)

MOSES *causeth the people to haste like a fleet-winged she-ostrich crying aloud; the cloud shining bright, a mighty army propelled into the Red sea is gathered into one; they go jumping and skipping.*

* *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique du Sinaï et l'Egypt emoyenne. Histoire, Géographie, Epigraphie:* publiée sous les auspices de S. E. M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes. Par M. LOTTIN DE LAVAL, ancien chargé de Missions scientifiques, etc. Paris, 1855—1859.

Journeying through the open channel, taking flight from the face of the enemy.
The surge of the sea is divided. (No. XLI.)
The people flee, the tribes descend into the deep.
The people enter the waters.
The people enter and penetrate through the midst.
The people are filled with stupor and perturbation.
JEHOVAH *is their keeper and companion.* (No. XXIII.)

Again the inscribed rocks tell of the destruction of the Egyptian army.

Their enemies weep for the dead, the virgins are wailing.
The sea flowing down overwhelmed them.
The waters were let loose to flow again. (No. VIII.)
The people depart fugitive.
A mighty army is submerged in the deep sea, the only way of escape for the congregated people. (No. XXI.)

On one of the rocks the landing of the Hebrews is described with a precision which must have startled the translator; for the landing place, or entrance from the shore into the first deep Wadi between the rock, to this day retains its name. It is now called the *Wadi Sádar*, being one of the chief avenues into the interior of the Sinai region, and is the way taken by persons coming from the Egyptian shore on the opposite side of the gulf. Golius explains the Arabic word صادِر from صَدَرَ *rediit ab aquatione*, to mean "a way that leads up from the water as at a landing-place," as this Wadi does. Dr. Stanley so mentions it. "A stair of rock," he says, "the Nükb Badera, brought us into a glorious Wadi (Sidr) enclosed between red granite mountains descending as precipitously upon the sands as the Bavarian hills upon the waters of the König sea. It was a sight worthy of all remembrance before we reached

this, to see, in the first break of day, the sunbeams striking the various heights of white and red, and to think what an effect this must have had as the vast encampment, dawn by dawn, in these mountains, woke up with the shout, 'Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee' (Num. x. 35). In the midst of the Wadi Sidri, just where the granite was exchanged for sandstone, I caught sight of the first inscription."* Dr. Stanley had not then seen what would no doubt have delighted him in the lines following:—

Pilgrims fugitive through the sea find a place of refuge at Sidr.

Lighting upon plain ground they proceed on their pilgrimage full of terror. (No. LXXVII.)

Then we track them journeying through the desert:—

The Hebrews pass over the sea into the wide waterless desert, famishing with hunger and thirst. (No. XVII.)

The people make many journeys; they are pilgrims far in the waste wilderness. (No. XXVI.)

The crying of the great multitude for water is continually recorded, as if their terror of perishing by thirst could never be forgotten, nor the miraculous answer to their supplication, nor their insatiable discontent.

The people clamour vociferously.

The people anger Moses.

Swerving from the right way, they thirst for water insatiably.

The water flows, gently gushing out of the stony rock.

Out of the rock a murmur of abundant waters.

Out of the hard stone a springing well.

Like the wild asses braying, the Hebrews swallow down enormously and greedily.

---

* *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their history.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M.A. Fourth Edition, p. 70.

Greedy of food like infants, they plunge into sin against JEHOVAH. (No. XLVI.)

The continuity of supply is well confessed:—

The people drink, wending on their way, drinking with prone mouth, JEHOVAH *gives them drink again and again.* (No. XXXIX.)

Yet they fail to acknowledge the God who sustains them.

The wild ass drinks again and again, drinking copiously in the desert: the people, sore athirst, drink vehemently.
They quaff the water-spring without pause, ever drinking.
Reprobate beside the gushing well-spring. (No. LVIII.)

The people's gluttony at Kibroth Hattaáveh is registered.

The people have drink to satiety. In crowds they swill.
Flesh they strip from the bone, mangling it.
Replete with food, they are obstreperous.
Surfeited, they cram themselves; clamouring, they vomit.
The people are drinking water to repletion.
The tribes, weeping for the dead, cry aloud with downcast eyes. The dove mourns, devoured by grief.
The hungry ass kicketh: the tempted men, brought to destruction, perish. Apostasy from the faith leads them to the tomb. (No. XXVIII.)
Devouring flesh ravenously, drinking wine greedily.
Dancing, shouting, they play. (No. XXXIV.)

"The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play" (Exod. xxxii. 6), and we know the plague that followed. It is said that Moses "called the name of that place קִבְרוֹת הַתַּאֲוָה *the graves of lust* (Num. xi. 34), because there they buried the people that lusted. And the people journeyed from Kibroth Hattaávah unto Hazeroth; and abode at Hazeroth." It would not have been unreasonable to expect, amidst other remains, some traces

of those burial-places, and here and there a traveller did entertain the thought, and almost believed that he had seen such graves. Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian monk of the sixth century, so thought. Niebuhr, the traveller, in 1761, actually copied some hieroglyphics from what he considered to be tombstones. He found them in an extensive ancient cemetery on *Sarbut-el-Khadem*, a mountain so called. It was unlike all the hieroglyphics he had seen in Egypt, for there was not any Egyptian god among the figures, and so were all the tombs distinguished, peculiar both in form and situation. The Arabs of the desert still call them "the Jews' graves." Within the last few years they have been visited again, and a few sentences from one of the sepulchral inscriptions must here be added to the rock inscriptions we are quoting. It is given by Forster.*

> *The apostates smitten with disease by God, by means of feathered fowls. Smitten by God with disease in the sandy plain,* (when) *exceeding the bounds of moderation. Sickening, smitten by God with disease; their marrow corrupted by God by means of the feathered fowls. The people, given over to destruction, cry aloud. God pours down deep sleep, messenger of death, upon the pilgrims. The tomb is the end of life to the sick, smitten with disease by God.*

It is observable that the birds in these sepulchral hieroglyphs exactly answer to a bird of passage which crosses the Peninsula of Sinai periodically. They come from the sea, as did those mentioned in the Book of Numbers. Their flight darkens the air. They are a sort of red crane, standing about three feet high, "as it were two cubits

---

* *Sinai Photographed*, p. 84.

upon the face of the earth." When they reach Egypt, people eat them as a delicacy; so did the Hebrews in the wilderness, with a voracity that proved fatal.

The tale of Miriam's attack on Moses, because of the Ethiopian woman he had married, is cut in the rock, and may be older than the book of Numbers (xii.) where we now read of it. A facsimile of this inscription follows.

MIRIAM,

Prophetess of lying lips and deceitful tongue.

She causes the tribes to conspire against the pillar and prince of the people.

Convoked for tumult, perverted, full of strife, the people revile the meek and generous man.

They load with reproaches the blessed one of God. (No. XLVIII.)

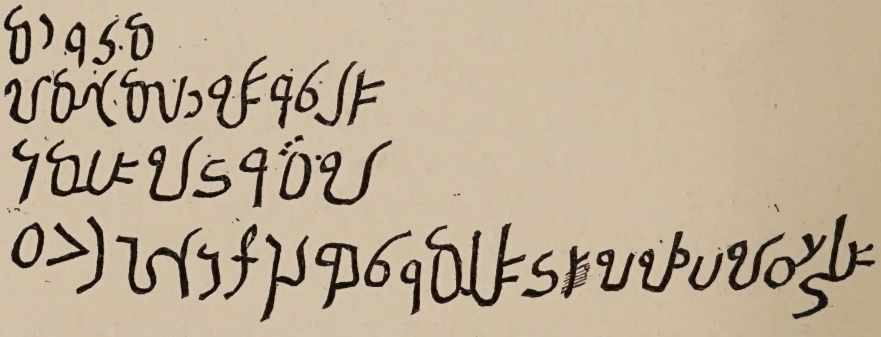


Fig. 6.

Again we have the same picture of servile mutiny.

The people, the Hebrews, lusting after Egypt, fall into confusion. (No. LXIII.)

And yet once more, a mention of the fiery serpents.

Bitten and destroyed by fiery, hissing serpents, the Hebrews are wounded for their crimes.

JEHOVAH *makes a stream flow from the stony rock.* (No. LXVII.)

The quails, under a peculiar name, equivalent with "red cranes," are not forgotten.

Congregating on all sides to ensnare them, the people voraciously devour the red cranes.
Binding the bow against them, bringing them down.
*Eagerly and enormously eating the half raw flesh, the pilgrims become plague-stricken.**

So, in the profound solitude of the desert of Sinai, where the voice of man seldom disturbs the death-like silence, monuments of remotest antiquity have lain out of sight, inaccessible to nearly all mankind, protected by obscurity of situation from the destroying hand of violence. But now is the silence broken. Here, as in the sites of Nineveh and Babylon, dialects long lost have come to life again, take voice, and rebuke the gainsaying of unbelievers. The discoveries are sudden, and even startling; but they are singularly opportune. Tested, as they have been, by persevering and searching study, they enforce assent. Even the best of the many versions may not be absolutely correct, but they have been elaborated by patient study, and subjected to much hostile criticism, yet still the translators all substantially agree. One language in Egypt, almost unheard of a century ago, is now reduced to form again, with a lexicon and grammar of its own.† These witnesses could not be suborned; and the evidences are so

---

* *Ut supra*, p. 159.

† *Heinrich Brugsch, Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique et Démotique contenant les mots et les groupes les plus usités de la langue des anciens Egyptiens. Leipzig*, 1867. 4 *Bde.* 1867-68.

independent, although consistent, that collusion was impossible.

Seeing, then, that the history of Moses himself is so strikingly authenticated, we may confidently pass on to the history he has written—of all histories the earliest—and listen to the unconscious, or the involuntary, testimonials of Gentiles to the high integrity of this incomparable Hebrew; an integrity created, sustained, and guided by the spirit of divine inspiration and prophetic gift.

Writings of Moses.

Moses is author of the earliest known history.* He wrote the first five books of the Old Testament, the *Torah* of the Israelites, or, as the Rabbis would say, the Five-Fifths of the Law, the Pentateuch. In agreement with the best critics, we believe that Moses wrote the whole, except that, after his death, a few supplementary sentences were added by another hand for the sake of completeness.

The death of Moses is dated in the margin of our Bibles at B.C. 1451; but if we follow the chronology adopted by Brugsch, it must have been a century and a half later. This chronological question, however, is not yet settled.

The cosmogony of Moses has a character of simplicity quite peculiar to itself. We do not call the simplicity his-

---

* Not even excepting the Chinese. "Before Confucius, China had no authors, much less an historian; so his own annals were transmitted by tradition through a course of 2,000 years! . . . We therefore consider the history previous to Yaou (B.C. 2337), as fabulous; from thence to Confucius (B.C. 550), as uncertain; from Confucius to the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960), it may be deemed as correct as that of Greece; and since that period it is fully authenticated." *China Opened, &c., &c.* By the Rev. Chas. Gutzlaff. Chap. xi., Chronology.

torical, for the earlier portion of the Book of Genesis is more than history. History, strictly speaking, is the relation of what the historian himself has witnessed, or faithfully compiled from the relations of witnesses. But the account of the creation, in the first chapter of Genesis, must have been originally a revelation from God the Creator, for there could be no human witness of the beginning of the material universe. But it is perfectly credible that the Author of our existence might reveal to Adam, first of men, the relation between the Creator and the creature, and inform him of the order of creation, then perfectly accomplished. This information, committed to the knowledge and memory of the universal patriarch, would be preserved by tradition, or embodied in a primæval record, and eventually transcribed by Moses.

The first sentences of the cosmogony read thus:—"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." Possibly the translation may not fully represent the original, which it is always needful to consult and understand for the sake of effective exposition, but the version we have in the authorised English Bible is clear enough for the present purpose.

The state of "the earth" before Adam, or rather, before the dawning of the first day of time, as time is measured, can only be conjectured rudely by means of truly scientific research, and of such research we heartily and unreservedly acknowledge the value—*only let it be truly scientific.* What is meant by "the beginning," and how long the state so designated might continue, the present writer confesses himself unable to conjecture, supposing that it is not possible to calculate by any *data* at present known. Say that it

continued for ages, as many ages as you please; we need not grudge the geologist as many ages as he desires.

There does not seem to be any place for controversy here, and as we are collecting Gentile monuments, or even occasional illustrations, if nothing better be at hand, the fact may just be mentioned that China, one of the oldest nations in the world, has a formal tradition of a period anterior to the creation of man, such as the first words of Genesis indicate, and concerning which divine revelation and scientific truth are here, as everywhere else, in full accord.

Fung Chow, an old Chinese writer, quotes the tradition as he finds it, but quotes only that he may reject it as incredible. Dr. Morrison translates it thus:—"*Jae-Keĭh*, the First Principle, MOVING, at rest, or still, produced Yin. These produced all things, exclusive of Heaven, Earth, and Man." This implies long delay, which Fung Chow thinks contrary to all sense and reason, and asks—"How can it be believed that forty or fifty thousand years elapsed after the formation of the heavens and the earth before man appeared, or the earth and the water were adjusted, and food supplied to human beings? Or that, if the world had existed so long, these things should not have been arranged before Fŭh,—him and his successors?" *

As the Chinese tradition is too mysterious for the Chinese wise man, so is the primitive revelation too mysterious to satisfy some of our own philosophers; but have we not also a New Testament sentence referring to the very same pre-Adamic period, before which period our Lord and Saviour *was?* We find it in the Gospel according to St. John—"*In the beginning* was the Word."

---

* *A View of China for Philological Purposes*, by the Rev. R. MORRISON. Macao, 1817. Pp. 59, 60.

The preservation, far away in China, of the tradition of a pre-Adamic world, disposes us to think that it must have been revealed to the first man, and that Moses, under the guidance of divine inspiration, received and perpetuated the truth originally revealed, and handed down through the antediluvian generations; being known to Shem, who was contemporary with his father Noah 448 years, Noah with Lamech 595 years, and Lamech with Adam 56 years, as we gather from the genealogy which was published by Moses.

"The Book of the Generations of Adam" (Gen. v.), the primæval genealogy exhibiting lineal descent through eleven generations, from Adam to Shem, was an authentic document, made and kept in the family with sacred care.

"The Generations of the Sons of Noah" (Gen. x.), is the summary of a collection of similar documents, known to Moses.

"The Generations of Shem" (Gen. xi. 10—32), a continuation of the generations of Adam, bringing the lineal descent down to Abraham, was another of the Mosaic documents, not indeed written, like prophecies, by plenary inspiration, but containing registers of indisputable accuracy, authentic, true, and abundantly confirmed.

The second of these documents preserved by Moses, is indispensably necessary to the students of Ethnology, has already served them as the key to their most difficult subjects of research, and is most useful where most carefully applied, and when aided with the largest amount of subsidiary knowledge.

We learn from it that Noah was father of Ham, Ham father of Cush, Cush father of Nimrod. It bears that "Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the earth, and at

the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar," or Mesopotamia.

BABEL is Babylon, known at this day by its ruins. The remains of the Tower of Babel still exist in the mound of Borsippa, a few miles south of the site of the ancient city of Babylon.

CALNEH is identified with Niffer, about sixty miles southward of Babylon, on the left bank of the Euphrates.

ACCAD is not known as a city, but perhaps it was a province, original seat of the people called Accadim, who are mentioned in inscriptions, some of them in the Himyaritic, or old Ethiopic.

ERECH, אֶרֶךְ or אֹרֶךְ the Ορεχ of the Septuagint, or אֶרֶךְ the *Urúkh* of the Cuneiform, is believed to be the present *Warka* of the Arabs, 82 miles south of Babylon, and 43 east of that meridian. It was the necropolis of the ancient kings. Bricks, ready to crumble at the touch, through excessive age, are now in our possession, stamped with the name Urúkh, founder of the city, and dug out of its ruins, where they were probably laid in the lifetime of Nimrod, at least 4,100 years ago, while men were yet alive who could recollect the Deluge. We present the reader with a copy of the stamp in the oldest character known, faithfully taken from one of those very bricks now in the British Museum. The translation, as given by Professor Rawlinson,* is "Beltis, his lady, has caused Urúkh, the pious chief king of Húr, and king of the land of the Accád, to build a temple to her." So early had men cast off the worship of the true God; but probably the tendency to false worship existed before the flood.

---

* *The Five Great Monarchies*, Vol. I., page 64.

FIG. 8.

BRICK FROM ERECH.

The Deluge.

PROCEEDING now to notice some chief events in the Mosaic history, we take the Deluge first.

The original witnesses were those eight persons whom the ark carried on the face of the ocean that drowned the world. Those persons, progenitors of the second population, handed down an authentic tradition to their descendants, and for aught that we know, there may have been material monuments erected in memory of the deluge, or of their deliverance. Such monuments have not been found, but no event in Bible history has been so extensively and variously marked in the traditions of the world. Nor are these traditions popular only, or poetical. Some of the earliest historians wrote concerning a deluge, with strict attention to details, and in substantial agreement with the Old Testament account of the universal deluge. So did Berosus, who composed his History of Babylon from documents archived in the Temple of Bel, where he was priest. So did Abydenus, who wrote on the affairs of the Medians and the Assyrians. Both these historians flourished about three centuries before Christ, and even so late as their time it was still believed that fragments of the stranded ark lay high up amidst the snows of Ararat, and the Armenians used what they could get of them for charms.*

Noah, chief personage in the Mosaic history of the Deluge, and patriarch of the post-diluvian world, is recognised as such in the traditions of several nations. His name, נוח softened by the Greeks into Νωε, is represented

---

* For ancient writings on the Deluge refer to JOSEPHUS, *Antiquities*, I. iii. 6; EUSEBII *Præparatio Evangelica*, Lib. ix.

in the *Anu* of the cuneiform inscriptions, and, almost without any change, in the *Anúkh* of the Sabæans.*

The Tower of Babel.

The next great event after the Deluge was the building of a city and a tower in the land of Shinar, interrupted by the confusion of tongues and consequent dispersion of the builders (Gen. xi. 1—9). Moses relates how they had brick for stone and slime for mortar. As for the want of stone and substitution of brick, with the use of slime, or bitumen, all that is notorious; and whereas the inscriptions of the ancient world are elsewhere found on rocks and marbles, in the plain which the Babel builders found in Shinar the writing is all stamped in clay.

The city and the tower were distinct. The distinction is clearly expressed in the Hebrew text, and as clearly preserved in the early versions. "The Tower of Babel," however, is a popular designation which conveys the false idea that the tower of the Mosaic narrative was in the city; whereas the monuments convince us that in fact, according to the letter of the original text, it was at some distance from it.

The Greeks called that famous tower Borsippa, slightly varying the Chaldee name, which, according to an eminent authority, M. Oppert, was Barsip, or Barzippa, and might be literally translated *Tongue-tower*, a name suggested by the confusion of tongues. The mound which covers the site of that erection is also known by the Arabs as *Birs Nimrúd*. The mound *Babíl* is the ruin of the pyramidal temple of

* Sir Henry C. Rawlinson's *Outlines of the History of Assyria*, &c., London, 1852.

Bel and answers exactly to the description given of it by Herodotus, so far as its original form is ascertained.

M. Oppert, commissioned by the French Government to examine and report on cuneiform inscriptions, translates the part of a very long inscription which refers to Borsippa,* and which we gladly accept as the testimony of Nebuchadnezzar to the identity of the original structure with the tower mentioned by Moses. Nebuchadnezzar is represented in the usual manner, as one speaking in his own person:

"The tower, the eternal house, which I founded and built. I have completed its magnificence with silver, gold, other metals, stone, enamelled bricks, fir and pine.

"*The first*, which is the house of the earth's base, the most ancient monument of Babylon; I built and finished it. I have highly exalted its head with bricks covered with copper.

"We say for *the other*, that is, this edifice, the house of the seven lights of the earth, the most ancient monument of Borsippa. A former king built it, (they reckon 42 ages,) *but he did not complete its head. Since a remote time, people had abandoned it, without order expressing their words.* Since that time the earthquake and the thunder had dispersed the sun-dried clay. The bricks of the casing had been split, and the earth of the interior had been scattered in heaps. Merodach, the great god, excited my mind to repair this building. I did not change the site, nor did I take away the foundation. In a fortunate month, in an auspicious day, I undertook to build porticoes around the crude brick masses, and the casing of burnt

* So Mr. Loftus also translates in his *Travels and Researches in Chaldæa and Susiana*. London: 1857.

bricks. I adapted the circuits, I put the inscription of my name in the *Kitír* of the portico.

"I set my hand to finish it, and to exalt its head. As it had been in former times, so I founded it, I made it. As it had been in ancient days, so I exalted its summit."

We follow M. Oppert in his description of the ruin, which he examined closely. The "head" which Nebuchadnezzar exalted has bowed amidst the inevitable wrecks of time, but a part of it remains, and the summit measures 152 or 153 feet English above the level of the plain. The line of frontage on the north side, as you approach from Babylon, is in length about 460 feet. The total circuit of the ruin is about 2,290 feet. In the middle of the north side you may walk up into the mass by an ascending foot way, without steps, (like one of those inclined planes which lead up to the top of the Giralda in Seville) until you get to the level of a platform 82 feet broad by 92 feet long. You are then near 75 feet above the plain, and find yourself at the base of a cone of baked brick, on which rests an enormous mass of masonry. Having mounted this also, but not without difficulty, you have a magnificent view over the plain of Babylon, the minaret of Hillah guiding your eye towards the site of ancient Babylon on the north-east.

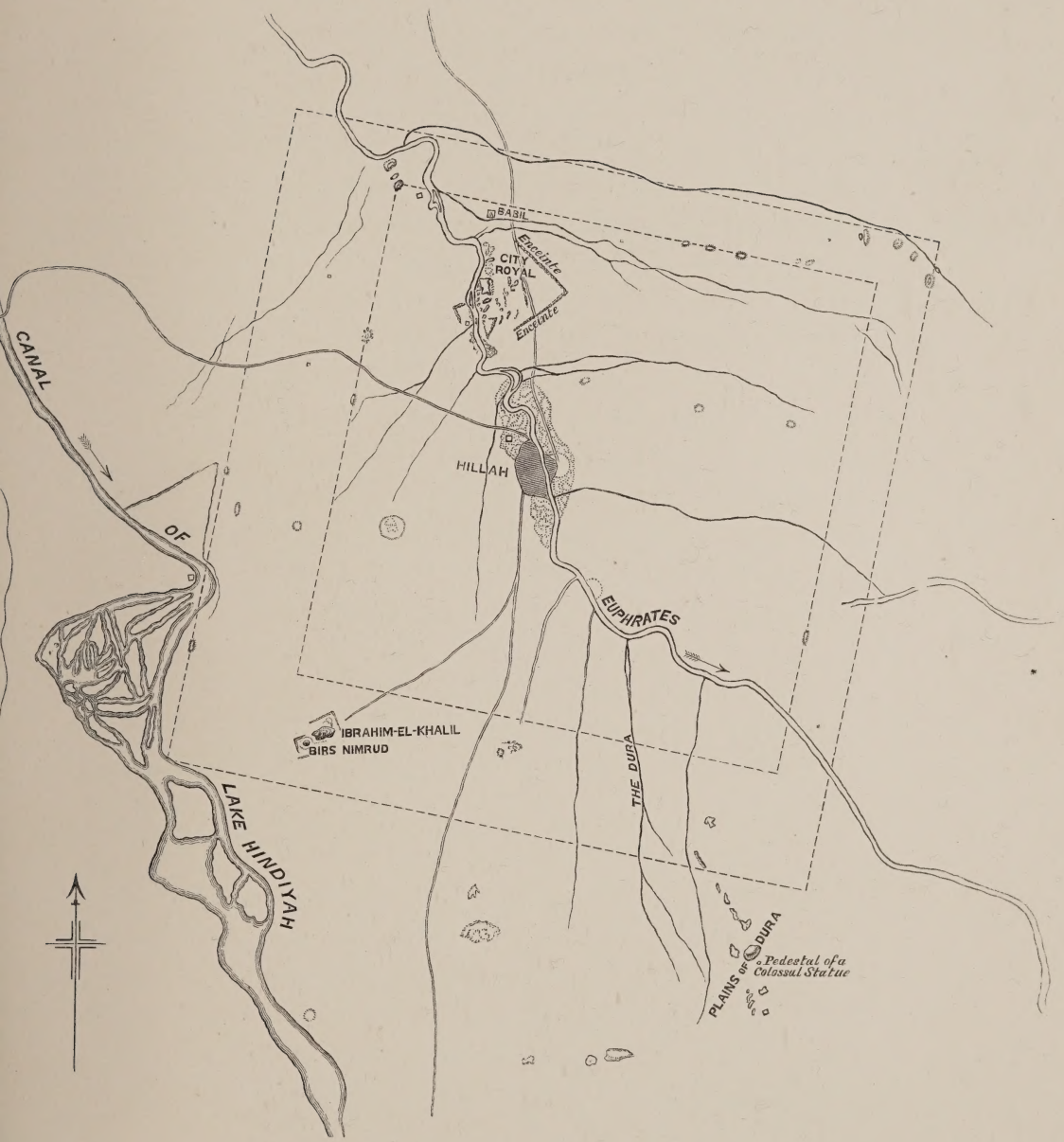
Here you are in the midst of a heap of Nebuchadnezzar's bricks, each stamped with the usual three lines of cuneiform, and here you see, around and beneath, the wreck of the once majestic tower. Enormous blocks of brick-work have fallen from the riven mass above, all bearing traces of vitrification by fire. In many parts they are completely vitrified, but the layers of bricks are still visible, as well as the cement which joined them. The tower was excellently built, and of great strength, but it is cleft and shattered through and

FIG. 9.

A BRICK OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

FIG. 10.

SITE OF BABYLON.


BABIL
Enceinte
CITY
ROYAL
Enceinte
CANAL
OF
HILLAH
EUPHRATES
IBRAHIM-EL-KHALIL
BIRS NIMRUD
LAKE HINDIYAH
THE DURA
PLAINS OF DURA
Pedestal of a Colossal Statue

through. Earthquake again has heaved the whole mass, as when first it made the original structure a heap, and lightning too—if it was electric fire that produced the strange effect upon the detached blocks, wholly or partially changed into glass, which made M. Oppert ask himself what conflagration would have been terrible enough to produce so strange an appearance.

The monument, as now found, is tenfold more impressive than if it had lain untouched by the king of Babylon, whose explanation both confirms and supplements the narrative of Moses; and now, when the believer in Holy Writ witnesses the second overthrow of the Tower of Tongues, and surveys from the top of the ruin the desolation of the city, he almost feels as though he heard the very sentence of dispersion pronounced, and reads with full intelligence the words of Moses:—"So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city. *Therefore is the name of it called* CONFUSION, *because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth; and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.*" *

The accompanying plan of the site of Babylon shows the position of Borsippa, there marked Birs Nimrúd.

Solomon.

MOSES and his successors in the work of sacred history move down the path of time, heaven-guided. As they advance step by step, we find them in unsought agreement with secular clerks, who, thinking of nothing less, grave the like records in stone, cut them in the live rock, or paint them in the chambers of the dead. For our part,

* OPPERT. *Expedition en Mesopotamie*, Livre II., chapitre vi.

we have chosen to pass by voluminous evidence of another kind, which has long been familiar to the advocates of revealed religion, and leaving the earlier books of the Old Testament to be defended with evidences and arguments over and again proved to be irrefutable, we confine ourselves almost entirely to monumental witnesses more lately brought to light.

To begin with Solomon. When David had achieved his victories, and reached the close of a long and honourable reign, he gave Solomon possession of the kingdom. Solomon then began that intercourse with other nations which, on the one hand, lifted the children of Israel out of a despised obscurity, but on the other, unhappily interwove their history with that of the most idolatrous of Gentiles.

The boundaries of Solomon's inheritance, as enlarged by his father's conquests, are not verbally defined, but may be conjectured. His dominion extended from the western bank of the Euphrates to the border of Egypt, spread far away northward, over Upper Syria, and, southward, bordered on Arabia. His merchant ships ploughed the waters of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, venturing beyond the Indian Ocean and into the remote Atlantic. They went out by the Strait of Babel-Mandeb, and returned by the Pillars of Hercules. His sea-ports were at Joppa on the Mediterranean and Ezion-gaber on the Red Sea, and served him for trading in the west and in the east. To say nothing of the palaces and cities that he built from time to time, the erection of the temple at Jerusalem at once absorbed the treasure accumulated by David and bequeathed to him for that special purpose.

The Queen of Sheba.

His relations with Arabia and the East are not yet

forgotten. The Queen of Sheba (1 Kings x. and 2 Chron. ix.) came to Jerusalem "to hear his wisdom;" and there has been much needless questioning as to the country whence she came. "She came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold and precious stones." Our Lord, speaking of this lady, calls her *Queen of the south* (Matt. xii. 42). Now this points to Arabia Felix, where spices, gold and precious stones abound, and whence they would be brought on camels to Jerusalem, by a well frequented way, almost due north from Sheba, or Shaba, capital of the Himyarite Arabs.

India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabæi.

"India sends ivory, and the luxury-loving Sabeans their frankincense." The Himyarite Arabs were her subjects, and from time to time they traded with African Ethiopia, or formed settlements there, and emigrated thither, until the race overspread the countries now known *as Hadramaut and Abyssinia*, carrying with them their barbaric civilisation, their language and their sympathies. As for their language it was written in the old Himyaritic letter now found at Aden and at Axum with scarcely a shade of difference, and in course of time it passed into the Ethiopic, or Gheez, esteemed classic at Gondar, and latterly studied by a few scholars in Europe. It is the sacred language of the Abyssinian Church, and in it is written the national history, which in one important respect quite harmonises with all that might be inferred from the narrative in Kings and Chronicles.*

Solomon, exchanging gifts, gave her all that she desired. According to the Ethiopic history, she was numbered with

* With our present knowledge, this will scarcely be disputed. Asseman (Dissertatio de Syris Nestorianis, Cap. X., sect. ix.) gives a geographical solution of the question.

his Gentile wives, and after her demise a son of theirs, whom she had brought home with her from Jerusalem, named Menilek (*from me to thee* מִנִי לְךָ), succeeded his mother on the throne, and, independently of lineal descent, every successor to the throne of Abyssinia is held to be a successor of Menilek, son of Solomon.* The worship of Solomon's God was adopted at the same time, and prepared the way for Christianity under Queen Candakē, whose treasurer went to Jerusalem to worship, and by his conversion, the way was further opened for the entire ingathering of the Abyssinians in the time of Athanasius and Frumentius. The lion of Judah, emblem of Royalty on the steps of Solomon's throne, is the device on the seal of the Sovereign of Abyssinia—KING OF KINGS OF ETHIOPIA. The seal is here shown. It is the fac-simile of an impression from the seal of the late Theodore attached to a letter written by himself, and addressed to the Queen Mother.

The letter is in the British Museum, in the Magdala Collection of Ethiopic manuscripts.†

Being written in Amharic, a dialect which the writer of this volume does not read, he is indebted to the Rev. R. B. Girdlestone, M.A., of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for procuring a translation.‡

---

* The same principle of succession, not dynastic, but elective, prevailed in Yemen before the dispersion of the Himyarites. There, as in Abyssinia, the crown descended, not regularly from father to son, but any prince of the blood royal, who had the strongest interest, generally became king. [Preliminary discourse to Sale's Koran. Sect. I.] The same kind of succession was allowed in the earlier times of Hebrew royalty, when solemn proclamation, rather than right of inheritance, made the king. Solomon himself was so proclaimed by his father's commands.

† Oriental Manuscripts, 829*. Fragments.

‡ "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God. The king of kings, Theodore. *May desirable (news)*

FIG. 11.

A LETTER OF THEODORE OF ABYSSINIA,
WITH SEAL.

በለመ፡አብ፡ወወልዱ፡ወመንፈስ፡ቅዱስ፡፩እምላእ፡ንጉሠ
ነገሥት፡ቴዎድሮስ፡ደዴረስ፡ከእቴጌ፡የተመኙ፡እንዴት፡ስነ
በትሺ፡እኔ፡እግዚአብሔር፡ይመስግን፡ዱህና፡ነኝ።እናትሺ
ነም፡እነወይዘሮ፡ሠናይትዓም።የቤቴን፡ሰዎች፡ሁሉ፡
እንዴት፡ለነበታችሁ፡እለ፡በይልኝ።አይዘሽ፡እቴ፡የጌ
ያለሺኝ፡ጉዳይ፡ሁሉ፡በእግዚአብሔር፡ኃይል፡ደህ፡ጮ
ደለኝ፡ብለሽ፡ላኪብኝ።እግዚአብሔር፡እስቲአገናኘን
፡ድረስ።

The Seal speaks for itself. The Ethiopic title on the edge is ንጉሠ : ነገሥት : ቴዎድሮስ : ዘኢትዮጵያ : : *King of Kings, Theodore of Ethiopia*, with its equivalent in Arabic. Amongst the various titles accorded to the Emperor of Abyssinia is *Son of the Lion*, ወልደ : አንበሳ : : and Ludolf informs us that he sometimes closes his letters with the sentence, *The Lion of the Tribe of Judah hath conquered.* ሞአ : አንበሳ : ዘእግነገደ : ይሁዳ : : *

Besides tracing their national royalty back to Solomon, the Abyssinians recognise the origin of their national faith in the instruction concerning the true God originally received from the king of Israel by the Queen of Sheba. Peculiarities in their Liturgy as it stood before the arrival of the Jesuits, who managed to effect some important changes; a predominance of Old Testament names, which they were not likely to derive from Europe or Alexandria in the time of Athanasius, nor even in the time of Candakē; peculiar customs still retained, especially that of circumcision; veneration for the seventh day of the week, on which they never travel, although they have always observed the Christian sabbath on the first day; the large number of Jews in their country in past ages, when they not only enjoyed perfect liberty, but possessed considerable territory under their own independent government; and

---

from the Queen-Mother arrive. How are you? I am well, thank God. And is thy mother, and *Ena Vayzaro* (the latter is a title, as much as princess, but used more ex'ensively) well? Ask how all the men of my house are, and tell me. Have good courage, my sister. Whatever necessaries thou art in want of, say; this I am wanting by the power of God, and send word to me. (Farewell) until God causes us to meet." [The words printed in italics are doubtful.] The letter is written on a sheet of large folio paper, folded very small. On the back, so folded, it is addressed to the Queen-Mother.

* Ludolfii, *Hist. Æthiop.*, Lib. II., capp. i., vi.

also the Hebraised character of their Christianity and their domestic customs: all these, thus taken together, make Abyssinia a national monument of the time when Jerusalem was a joy in the whole earth, and when the fear of the Lord's people rested on surrounding nations. Henceforth evidences of another class will multiply; evidences confirmatory of many passages in Holy Writ, attesting the truth of what is written—the truth of God, but the short-comings and declension of His people.

The Pharaohs.

Less favourable to himself and to his country than his relation with Arabia, were Solomon's communications with Egypt. He "made affinity with Pharaoh, king of Egypt" (probably the last king of the twenty-first dynasty), "and took Pharaoh's daughter" (1 Kings iii. 1).

The communication, thus opened with Egypt, led to disastrous consequences. The king became rapidly debased by his attachment to foreign women, in whose homes luxury and pride were most intimately associated with the worship of their gods. He adopted their customs, and sanctioned their idolatrous abominations. Whilst he was thus entangled with the Egyptian connexions, Jeroboam, one of his servants, fled to Shishak, king of Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 40).

After the flight of Jeroboam, Rehoboam, son and successor of Solomon, following to its natural consequences the bad example of his father, set up the worship of idols in Judæa, and in the fifth year of his reign, Shishak, king of Egypt, came to Jerusalem, robbed the temple of its treasures, and also took away the treasure of the king's house (1 Kings xiv. 25—27).

The first name of a Pharaoh that appears in the Bible is found also in the memorials of Egypt. The *first*, I say, because the name given to the Pharaoh with whom Abraham, ages before, had correspondence, is not Egyptian but Hebrew, and until the time of Solomon no Egyptian name of a king appears in sacred history. This was Sesonk the First. He built the great temple of Karnac in honour of the god Ammon, and in the wall that surrounds the temple there was a grand piece of *bas-relief* sculpture in memory of his successful expeditions into Palestine. M. Brugsch calculates the date of that expedition, and finds it synchronous with the fifth year of Rehoboam. He also reads these words on the sculpture, concerning Sesonk I., "Who is crowned king to unite the two worlds;" that is to say, Upper and Lower Egypt, hitherto under separate sovereigns; and he recites the names of places the king had conquered, namely, "Rabbith, Sunem, Thaanach, Rehob, Hapharaim, Adoraim, Mahanaim, Gibeon, Bethoron, Kedemoth, Ayalon, Megiddo," and many others.* The invasion of Judæa by Sesonk, or Shishak II., took place about 971 years before Christ.

Solomon's Folly.

The record of a special gift of wisdom to Solomon does not in the least imply that the gift was absolute and perpetual. It was made in answer to a prayer, (1 Kings iii. 5—13), but the donation was accompanied with a conditional promise of long life, delivered in such terms as intimated that he might after all depart from the ways of David his father, and break the statutes and commandments of the Lord (ver 14.).

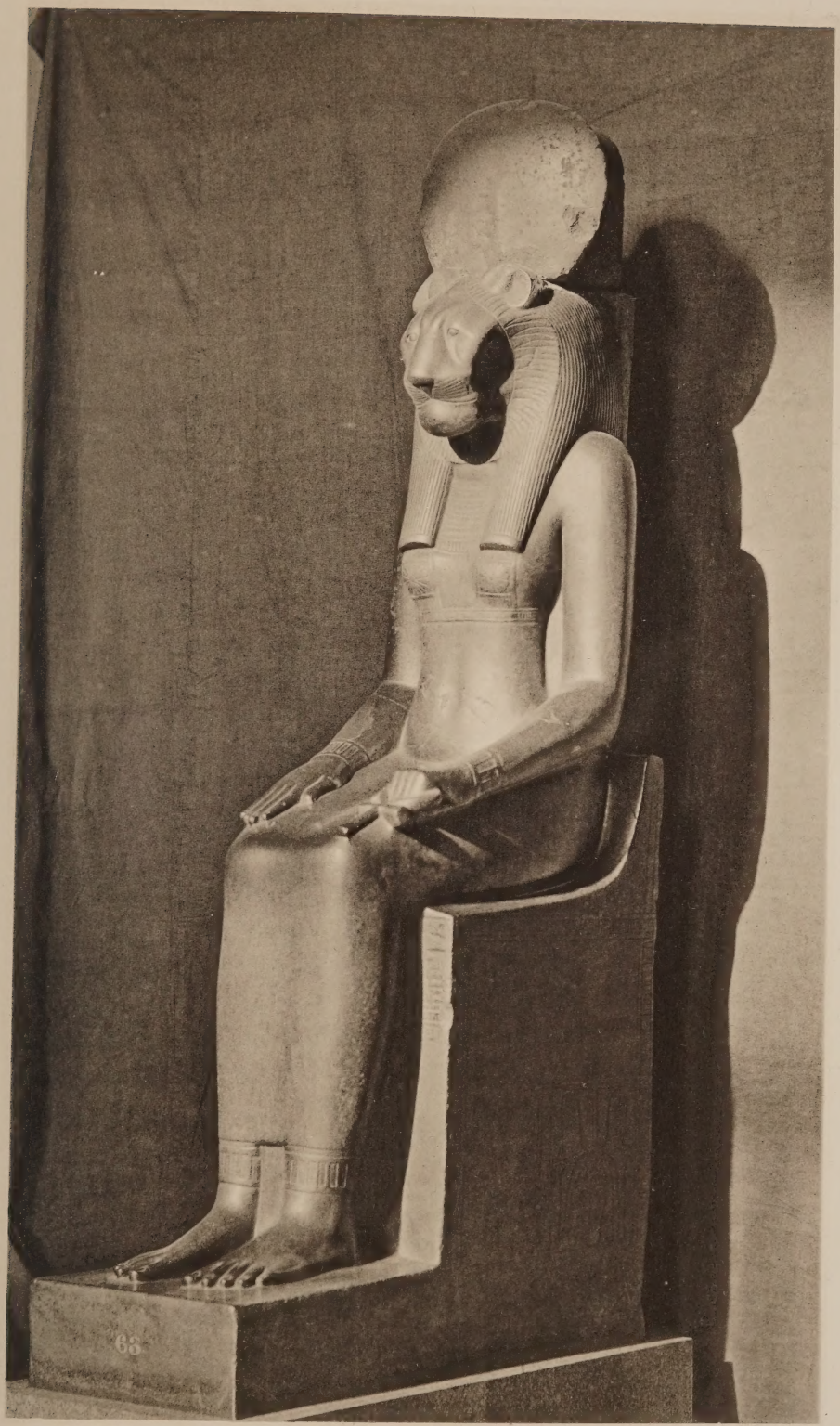
* Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, page 228.

After an account of Solomon's wisdom and piety, we find an equally clear account of his departure from the way of obedience, and his open allowance and support of idolatry. The occasion of this defection is also stated; "But king Solomon loved many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, etc., of the nations concerning which the Lord said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall not go in unto them, neither shall they come in unto you, for surely they will turn away your heart after their gods. Solomon clave unto these in love." "It came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods." "Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech, the abomination of the children of Ammon. *And likewise did he for all his strange wives, which burnt incense and sacrificed unto their gods*" (1 Kings xi. 1—8).

The queen of Sheba was an illustrious exception. She did not burn incense to her gods; she did not come to Jerusalem for mere political alliance, but with true queenly independence, having, in his best time, "heard of the fame of Solomon, concerning the name of the Lord, she came to prove him with hard questions," not with trifling enigmas, but with *hard questions of the wise*; בְּדִבְרֵי חַכָמִים וְחִידוֹתָם with such as Solomon himself mentions (Prov. i. 6). But Pharaoh's daughter was first and chief of those heathen women under whose influence the once wisest of kings fell into a depth of moral imbecility. She was indulged with a High Place for offering incense to her god. If, in her preference of objects of idol worship, she followed the fashion of Egypt then prevailing, her goddess would most probably be Pasht, the *cat-headed.*

FIG. 12.

PASHT, THE CAT GODDESS.



For Shishak II., her father's successor on the throne of the Pharaohs, had a temple of great magnitude and beauty erected and adorned in honour of Pasht, in the city of Bubastis, which is described with sufficient minuteness by Herodotus and others. Two images of Pasht, in pure black polished basalt, in the British Museum, brought from that temple and almost perfectly alike, bring to our view a chief object of the adoration of the Egyptian princess. She was the tutelar goddess of cats, animals of equal sanctity in Egypt with ibises and black bulls, not less favoured, and with many persons more beloved. They were so sacred that the killing of a cat was a deeper crime than the murder of a man. In Shishak's grand temple of Bubastis there was a most sacred cemetery for these animals. Bodies of deceased cats were embalmed at considerable cost, swathed, boxed, and solemnly conveyed from all parts of Egypt to the city of Pasht, where they might abide in sanctity inviolate. When a person of sufficient wealth and zeal found a dead cat in his house he might so distinguish its remains; but wherever in Egypt a cat should die, its body was embalmed with reverence and buried within the precinct of some temple, far or near. Think of Solomon in the height of wisdom, and leading the devotions of a nation, at the dedication of his magnificent temple to the one living and true God, in the flower of his earlier manhood; think of him, again, in his decrepitude, providing incense to be burned in honour of the cat-headed goddess of one of his wives! "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might; let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth the Lord" (Jerem. ix. 23).

Mesha, King of Moab.

ATTENTION has lately been drawn to a passage of scripture history, formerly little noticed:—"Mesha, king of Moab, was a sheepmaster, and rendered unto the king of Israel 100,000 lambs, and 100,000 rams with the wool; but it came to pass that when Ahab was dead, the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel" (2 Kings iii. 4, 5). The king of Moab had been tributary ever since the time of David (2 Samuel viii. 2), but, following the barbarous custom of repudiating debts contracted in times of weakness, after the tribute had been paid during 144 years he refused to pay it any longer. So many years had elapsed before Moab durst presume to break his pledge. But so long submission shows that the disparity between Israel and Moab must have been at one time very great. Revolt now seemed practicable to the tributary pagan, and so formidable had this royal sheep-master become, that Jehoram, son of Ahab, durst not alone encounter him, but had recourse to the kings of Judah and of Edom. Even the three kings together only ventured to make war on Mesha after much timorous hesitation. They did, indeed, suppress the Moabite uprising for a time; he was driven to despair when he saw their united forces laying siege to his own city, and, as if to make his imprecations more effectual, offered up his eldest son upon the wall of Dibon, as an oblation to sooth the anger of his god, Chemosh, and then fled; but the conquest of that city, and the land of Moab, was not yet complete.

The Moabites, terrified and provoked beyond measure, but only half subdued, breathed vengeance against Israel. King Jehoram and his half-hearted allies, themselves fearing

FIG. 13.

INSCRIPTION OF MESHA THE MOABITE.

the indignation they had roused, would not stay to brave it, but departed from Mesha, as though they had themselves been beaten, and returned to their own land (2 Kings iii. 26, 27). The sacred writer does not conceal their terror, but records it here without extenuation or disguise. A victorious army deserts the field, and comes home empty! He conceals nothing, but neither does he enlarge needlessly the tale of humiliation. The sacred page is never crowded with needless particulars, but Mesha will take revenge.

He does, indeed, most fully relate the miserable end of Ahab, and of Joram, who, after receiving a severe wound from Hazael, king of Syria, while slowly recovering, and seated helpless in his chariot, was shot through the heart with an arrow by Jehu, usurper of his throne (2 Kings ix. 24). The interval from the accession of Omri to the death of Joram was a little over forty years, and this accords with one passage in the inscription which will presently be set before the reader.

The next thing that we read of Moab is, that about fifty-eight years after the battle of Dibon, "the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the year" (2 Kings xiii. 20). It is not said how strong the bands were, nor what they did, neither does it appear that they were more than armed robbers, come to alarm and despoil the people of the country, who had little power to defend themselves. They were גְּדוּדִים, called by the Septuagint μονόζωνοι, *plunderers*, not under tribute as aforetime.

About three centuries later a great change took place in Moab, not the consequence of any single struggle, but the effect of causes which it is easy to conjecture, even if it be not quite possible to enumerate.

The forty-eighth chapter of the book of Jeremiah contains "the judgment of Moab," and it will assist the reader

to peruse with clearer intelligence the instructive inscription now laid before him. The prophet apostrophises Moab as a people who trusted in their works and treasures, a nation which had been at ease from her youth—had never gone into captivity—had held Israel in derision, and skipped for joy when she spake of him. The prophet enumerates, name by name, the very places of which Mesha had made his boast, and denounces ruin on them all. Desolation, indeed, has overtaken them for ages past, and *where* they should be placed on the map was long an unsolved problem of geography to the best informed inquirers.

Many years ago, however, the site of Dibon was discovered, and the ruins were found to be extensive. So lately as August, 1868, a large basalt stone was observed in those ruins covered with an inscription in unknown characters. After a delay which will ever be regretted, and not before the greed of the Arabs and their superstition were stirred so powerfully that they heated the stone over a fierce fire and split it into pieces by pouring cold water on it, the pieces were gathered up after much difficulty, and purchased, like the Sybilline leaves, at a great cost. Yet we must be thankful, however hard the terms, for they are beyond price. A translation follows.* Other two versions will be found in the Appendix.† A fac-simile exhibits the inscription, which is in the language and letter written in that land, B.C. 896—say 2,770 years ago.

1. I, Mesha, son of Kemosh-*gad*, king of Moab, *the Di*

---

* From the North British Review of October, 1870.

† *Appendix B.* To the first of these translations is appended a note of passages of Scripture which should be examined in relation to the inscription, for the assistance of any one who may wish to study the matter for himself.

2. bonite—my father reigned over Moab thirty years and I reign
3. ed after my father. And I made the high-place for Kemosh in Korchoh, a high place *of de*
4. liverance, because he delivered me from all enemies, and let me look (with pleasure) upon the destruction of all my haters. *Then* arose *Om*
5. ri, king of Israel, and he oppressed Moab many days, because Kemosh was angry with his
6. land. And his son (*i.e.* Ahab) succeeded him, and he, too, said, I will oppress Moab. In my days he said *this*
7. But I looked upon (the ruin of) him and his house, and Israel perished for ever. And Omri had taken possession of the *plain*
8. *of* Medeba, and dwelt in it, and *they oppressed Moab, he and* his son, forty years, *but looked*
9. upon him (*i.e.* Moab) Kemosh in my days. And I built (*i.e.* restored or fortified) Baal-Meon, and constructed in it the moat (?) and I *built*
10. Kiryathaim. And the men of Gad were dwelling in the land of A*ta*roth from of old, and the *king of Is*
11. rael had built for himself *the city;* and I fought against the city, and took it, and slew all *the inhabitants of*
12. the city (as) a (pleasing) sight to Kemosh and to Moab, and carried off thence the . . . . . *of Yahveh,* and drag
13. ged it (or them) before Kemosh at Kerioth. And I made dwell in it (*i.e.* Ataroth) the people of Shirun, and the people of
14. M—ch—rath (?) And Kemosh said to me, "Go, take Nebo from Israel." *And I*

15. went by night (and fought against it) from the dawning of the morning until mid-day, and I
16. took it, and slew the whole (population) of it, seven thousand . . . . . .
17. . . . . for to Ashtor Kemosh I had devoted it, and I took away thence *the*
18. *vessels* of Yahveh, and dragged them before Kemosh. And the king of Israel (*i.e.* Ahaziah) built
19. Yahaz, and abode in it while he was fighting against me; but Kemosh drove him out before my face,
20. *and* I took of Moab two hundred men with all his head men (?) and I led them up to Yahaz and took it
21. in addition to Dibon. I built Korchoh, the wall of the woods and the wall of
22. the mound; and I built its gates, and I built its towers, and
23. I built the palace; and I made the reservoirs for rain-water (?) in the midst *of*
24. the city. And there was not a cistern in the midst of the city, in Korchoh; and I said to the whole people, "Make *for*
25. yourselves each a cistern in his house." And I cut the moat for Korchoh with (the labour of) *the captives*
26. *of* Israel. I built Aroer; and I made the road over the Arnon.
27. I *re*built Beth-Bamoth, for it had been pulled down. I built Bezer, for . . . . . .
28. . . . . men of Dibon, fifty (in number) for all Dibon was submission (submissive to me). And I
29. . . . . in the cities (?) which I added to the land. And I *built*
30. . . . . and Beth Diblathaim, and Beth-Baal-Meon, and I took up (?) thither the . . . . .

FIG. 14.

JOPPA.

J.CORBET ANDERSON DEL.
D.MARTIN SC.

FIG. 15.

ROYAL CITY OF NINEVEH.

CITY WALL
MOAT
NINEVEH
WALL
GREAT
MAHR KHOZR
EASTERN
OUTER DITCH
CENTRAL DITCH
RAMPART
KOYUNJIK
DEBRIS of BUILDINGS
NAHR KHOZR
SWAMP
NEBBÍ YÚNUS
TOMB of JONAH
MOSUL
RIVER
TIGRIS

31. . . . . the land. And Horonaim, there dwelt in it B. . . . .
32. . . . . And Kemosh said to me, "Go down, fight against Horonaim." And I . . . . .
33. . . . . Kemosh in my days. And . . .
34. . . . . years (?) . . .

Nineveh.

Let us now go eastward, from the Jordan to the Tigris. The cry of Jonah (iii. 4), "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown," implied an overthrow sudden, utter, and irremediable. At that time, fasting and prayer brought the Ninevites a long respite.

Nahum succeeded Jonah, and his prophetic denunciation gave no hope of like forbearance for the future. His three chapters are now interwoven with the recovered monumental history, and his words, "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved" (ii. 6), have been literally fulfilled. There were no historians among the Gentiles to record circumstances which might illustrate the prophecy, but a few indistinct and clashing rumours have been collected, and the charred fragments of the palace and its furniture demonstrate the fulfilment.

Ctesias, it is probable, preserved at least one important fact, and from other sources also it is collected that the Babylonians revolted from their allegiance to Assyria, and uniting with the Medes, marched down from the north and laid siege to the royal city—that part of the central Assyrian region represented in the accompanying map, where now are the mounds of Koyunjik. Saracus, probably successor of Sardanapalus, trusting in the strong defences and admirably chosen position of the city, resolved

to stand the siege, and for two years the combined army lay encamped outside. Strong walls extending to branches of the Zâb, eastward, resisted the enemy; and the main channel of that river, down to its junction with the Tigris, was an effectual protection against an advancing army. The rapid and deep Tigris, flowing past the city on the west, was trusted in as a yet greater defence, and Saracus felt secure.

But during the winter rains, that river, more swollen than usual, overflowed its banks, softened the foundation of the wall, probably where the north-western angle approached the river, *as appears in the map*. A portion of the wall gave way and suddenly fell with a thundering crash, leaving a wide breach for the besiegers to enter. The sound of the ruin was a death-signal to the king. With his own hands he set fire to the palace, and flung himself into the flames. The besiegers rushed into Nineveh, and whether they, or the Ninevites, or both, cast the firebrands, a conflagration devoured the whole city, where are now the mounds of Koyunjik, Khorsabad, Nimrúd, and the rest. Probably the inhabitants were spared, for they would fraternise with their Babylonian kinsfolk. Whether as allies or captives, they gave their hands to labour, and Mosul arose quickly on the western bank of the rapid flood, a second but a meaner Nineveh.

With all its grandeur, old Nineveh was but a city of clay. Thick walls, indeed, were built, but only with sun-dried brick. Thus even palaces and temples of gods were walled with perishable clay. Colossal figures of winged bulls and lions, rudely cut out of solid marble, were at the portals. Sculptured marble facings adorned the chambers, but the weight and mass of the barbaric structures did not rest on them. Those precious *rilievi* represented kings and gods,

with warlike expeditions and royal hunts, sieges, conquests, triumphs, industries: those halls of state were sculpture-galleries, made to perpetuate scenes of royal magnificence and recreation. After the sculptor had exhausted his ingenuity and skill, the graver showered on all the available surface of the sculptor's work, in broad historic bands, myriads of combinations of wedge and arrow-head characters. The dismantled walls softened and fell, yet not so rapidly as to destroy the whole, but bury it gently out of sight, and the softened heap has saved it from atmospheric corrosion and savage violence for two thousand five hundred years.

Within the present generation, by insight and perseverance unparalleled in the annals of literature, those records have been deciphered, reduced to rules of grammar, and translated. The extinct Assyrian is revived, and sent forth to the world in the languages of Europe, and used with scientific mastery for the construction of grammars and lexicons of the various dialects expressed under the same written character, and for the re-composition of long lost histories.

While divine providence kept all this treasure safe under ground, the geographers of Greece and Rome counted Nineveh extinct with Troy and with Mycenæ. Pliny the Elder wrote his *Ninus fuit . . . urbs quondam clarissima*, but knew not on which side of the Tigris the once most glorious city lay. Pausanias moralised on the deletion by cruel fortune of Ninus and Bœotian Thebes. Most people said that Nineveh was irrecoverably lost. Oriental tradition did indeed linger on her grave, but the Mussulmans ignorantly built wretched villages over the palaces of Sennacherib and Sardanapalus, while the Jews and Christians of Mosul, somewhat more enlightened, pointed to the mounds with a

certain traditional respect. Seven centuries ago, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela visited Mosul, and found that only a bridge of boats over the Hiddekel separated him from the soil trodden by Shalmaneser, once conqueror of Samaria. He turned not aside upon the track of the captured tribes of Israel, but having counted seven thousand Jews in Mosul, glanced across the river, saw the wilderness, cried חרבה, *desolation!* gave a brotherly farewell to the Jews in the modern city, and went on with his visitation of the Asiatic Synagogues.

We shall not follow him, but stay awhile at Nineveh to take the benefit of recent explorations, and scientific survey.

Captain Felix Jones, "appointed surveyor in Mesopotamia," has examined the mounds, followed the excavators and antiquarians, surveyed the country all round, and sent his authenticated maps to the British government with minutely detailed letter-press explanations. He inclines to the belief that Jonah's enumeration of its inhabitants has reference to the whole of the tract between the Tigris and the Zâb, measuring from the junction of the rivers high enough northward to include Khorsabad, with Nimrúd in the south, the entire circuit, as he calculates, being sixty-one and a half miles. "Koyunjik may be properly called the acropolis of Nineveh," and the whole area, containing much cattle, as well as six or seven hundred thousand souls, would take the name of Nineveh. The mound of Koyunjik, and that of Nebbí Yúnús, near enough to be its suburb, are undoubtedly the most interesting, and they have towered above the plains of Assyria, perhaps, in their present form, during twenty-five centuries of time.

One feature of the ancient cities, clustered on the plain within the circuit, and having their natural defence in the

rivers, the marshlands, and the mountains around, consists of a multitude of solid brick pyramids of considerable height, so constructed that hundreds of persons might cover their sides. They are literally "high places," and he supposes that they might serve as assemblages for prayer or adoration of their gods. No language can be better than his own for comparison with the third and fourth chapters of the book of Jonah. He says that "these works, more than anything else, speak of the populousness of the district (of Koyunjik and Nebbí Yúnús), and, indeed, of all Assyria, for they exist in every direction within the extended limits of that empire. Every homestead appears to have had one attached, and if really intended for sacred practices, we may imagine the solemnity of the scene presented by the assemblage of congregations around the various pyramidal altars in the open air. Any sufficient signal by day, or a sacred fire at night, displayed from the chief sanctuary, might have prostrated the whole nation, under the great canopy of heaven only, in simultaneous prayer." From the acropolis of Koyunjik, a signal might summon all the surrounding population to attention. Swift messengers might "proclaim and publish through Nineveh the decree of the king and his nobles." Man and beast covered with sackcloth; the king sitting in ashes; the crowds upon their High Places crying aloud to God; Jonah in retreat somewhere on the hills you see marked in the map, east of the royal city; every habitation empty; the most High God unseen, yet present, relenting with the repentance of the people; the impatient prophet under his withered gourd, sullenly listening to the word of the LORD:—"Should I not spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six-score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left, and also much cattle." All

this indicates a scene of grandeur surpassing the powers of language to describe.*

Assyrian Inscriptions.

An early indication of the importance of Assyrian monuments appears in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I., about 1150 years before Christ, contemporaneous with Eli the priest, when as yet there was no king in Israel. Assyria, too, was not yet so great a power in the world, but Tiglath-Pileser was endeavouring to lay foundations for future greatness. One thing in agreement with the declarations of Holy Scripture concerning the gradual corruption of primeval faith appears in those annals, imprinted on a clay cylinder.

He acknowledges the glory of the incorruptible God, but assigns to other gods the attributes which are incommunicably His. "Ashúr," according to the cylinder, "*Ashúr*, the great lord, ruling supreme over the gods; the giver of sceptres and crowns; the appointer of sovereignty. *Bel*, the lord, king of the circle of constellations, father of gods, lord of the world. *Sin* (the Moon), the leader, the lord of empire, the powerful, the auspicious god. *Shamas* (the Sun), establisher of the heavens and the earth; . . . . . ; vanquisher of enemies; dissolver of cold. *Vul*, he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands, and who strengthens the heart. *Ishtar*, the eldest (or source), of the gods; the queen of victory, she inflames to battles."

As for the "gods of the people,"—both people and people's gods, the common herd,—he thoroughly despises

* *Notes on the Topography of Nineveh*, etc., by Felix Jones, Commander Indian Navy, and Surveyor in Mesopotamia. London, 1855. With three maps.

them all. Magnificent king that he is! when he can slaughter the worshippers, and make booty of their silver or golden gods, too mean to be admitted into his theology, but not too mean to be turned into exchange or currency, he takes them to himself by cart-loads, and records his good luck with sovereign delight. His own chosen gods were no plebeian divinities. Elate with conquests made near home, he crosses the Euphrates in boats of skin, extends his dominion northward and westward, and opens ways westward and southward that his successors will soon make use of as military roads for more formidable warlike expeditions.*

The neighbourhood of Assyria, when once their armies had crossed the Euphrates, became formidable to every state that lay within their reach, and within five centuries after the first Tiglath-Pileser, Babylon, although an older state than Nineveh, gave way.

In the annals of Divanubara, son of Sardanapalus, there is a notice of presents that were sent to the king of Assyria by Jehu, king of Israel. Divanubara, it may be supposed, received these presents in the twenty-first year of Jehu's reign, when he attacked Hazael, the king of Syria, and when the cities of Phœnicia also sent him tribute. By so doing, they confessed themselves his tributaries, and were bound to serve in war against the enemies of Assyria. Thus they incurred the displeasure of Hazael. Sir Henry Rawlinson conjectures that "as Jehu began to reign B.C. 883, and must have sent presents to Divanubara very soon after his accession, probably about 881, on this account, when the Assyrians returned home from Damascus, Hazael, the Syrian, turned his arms against the men of

* Sir Henry Rawlinson's inscription of Tiglath-Pileser. London, 1857.

Samaria, 'and smote them in all the coasts of Israel' (2 Kings x. 32)."*

The writer of the second book of Kings says that in the days of Jehu, who took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart, the Lord *began to cut Israel short;* and Hazael, etc. Now although in this passage the Assyrians are not mentioned, the cutting short of Israel does certainly indicate something very much worse than an attack on them by Hazael, and implies an increasing diminution of national strength and resources. The presents referred to in the annals of Divanubara may have been part of a tribute mentioned in a legend on an obelisk of Shalmaneser I., translated by M. Oppert, thus:— "I received tribute from Jehu, son of Omri, silver, gold, gold in plates, *zukut* of gold, gold cups, gold *dalani*, sceptres which are in the hand of the king, and bdellium."

We read again (2 Kings xv. 19, 20) that "Pul, the king of Assyria, came against the land (of Israel), and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver that his hand might be still with him, to confirm the kingdom in his hand." The Pul of the Bible, be it observed, is the Vul-lush of the inscriptions, and his name is found on marbles brought from the palace at Nimrúd. On a pavement slab, taken from a chamber in that palace, it is inscribed that he "received tribute from the Medes, Persians, Armenians, and Naïri, (people between the *two rivers* נַהֲרַיִם) on the north and east; from the country of Kaúmri, (Shomri or Samaria), from Tyre and Sidon, Idumea and Palestine on the western sea."† This was about the year B.C. 771. The payment by Menahem for protection, Pul very reasonably calls by its right name, tribute.

---

* *Outline of the History of Assyria*, etc. London, 1852.

† Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, I. 382.

Next after Pul came Tiglath-Pileser II.,—the Assyrian equivalent for this name is *Tigulti-pal-Tsiri*,—and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphthali, and carried them captive to Assyria (2 Kings xv. 29). We are assured by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hinks and Dr. Oppert, that this event is also engraved in some marbles, much broken and defaced, yet in parts legible.* The invasion took place about B.C. 740.

Some obscurity, not to say direct contradiction, is at first blush, apparent on comparison of two passages, namely 2 Kings xviii. 9 and Isaiah xx. 1. The historian says that in the seventh year of Hoshea, son of Elah, king of Israel, Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, came up against Samaria, and besieged it (B.C. 721). And at the end of three years they took it . . . . that is, in the ninth year of Hoshea, king of Israel, Samaria was taken. The prophet says that Sargon, the king of Assyria, sent Tartan to Ashdod, who fought against Ashdod and took it. It has appeared to commentators that the same acts are attributed to Shalmaneser II. and to Sargon, and others, again, have confounded Sargon with Sennacherib, and volunteered a gratuitous explanation that the Hebrews were accustomed to give different names to the same person, and gave the two names, Sennacherib and Sargon, to the same king. In this way loose conjecture pourtrays ignorance, provokes controversy, and contradictions are imagined where no contradiction ever was. The fact, in this case, is clear enough. From the first attack of Shalmaneser on Samaria to the capture of the city, three years—or two years and part of

* Inscription of Tiglath Pileser I., king of Assyria. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society. London, 1857. But it is now agreed that this king was *second* of the name.

a third—elapsed. When the city was captured, Sargon had succeeded to the throne of Assyria, on the decease of Shalmaneser. This might have been conjectured, but commentators have not always been good historical critics, and it remained for a native Assyrian annalist to provide a solution of the difficulty.

An inscription on one of Sargon's monuments plainly states that *he took Samaria in the first year of his reign*, (his predecessor's forces having fought for two or three years before,) levied on the Samaritans fifty chariots to increase his royal state, carried captive 27,289 families, instead of whom he sent over from Assyria other prisoners of war, appointed governors over the whole country and exacted tribute from them, that they, as well as the Assyrians, might take their share in bearing the public burdens.* Students now turn back to the same chapter in the Bible where the years of the reigns of the kings of Judah as well as of Samaria are given, and find a synchronism of great importance for settling the Assyrian chronology, and so accomplishing a work of incalculable value and difficulty.

The fall of Samaria in the first year of Sargon prepared the way for the eventual conquest of Jerusalem and Judæa. "In the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah (B.C. 713) did Sennacherib (or *Tsin-ikhi-irba*), king of Assyria, come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah, king of Judah, sent to the king of Assyria at Lachish, (to which city he was then laying siege), saying, I have offended, return from me: that which thou puttest on me I will bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah, king of Judah, three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave him

* M. Jules Oppert. *Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan.* Paris, 1870.

all the silver that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures in the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the LORD, and from the pillars which Hezekiah, king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria" (2 Kings xviii. 13—16).

To this explicit, but mournful passage, an inscription in the palace of Koyunjik exactly corresponds. It reads thus:—"Hezekiah, king of Judah, who had not submitted to my authority. Forty-six of his strong fenced cities, and fortresses, and villages depending on them, all of which I took and plundered; but I left him Jerusalem, his capital city, and some of the inferior towns around it. . . . . And because Hezekiah still refused to pay me homage, I attacked and carried off the whole population, fixed and nomade, around Jerusalem, with thirty talents of gold, and eight hundred talents of silver, the accumulated wealth of the nobles of Hezekiah's court, and their daughters, with the officers of his palace, men-slaves and women-slaves. I returned to Nineveh, and accounted that spoil for the tribute he refused to pay me."*

This fully accounts for the pressure of dire distress which forced good king Hezekiah to cut off the gold from the doors and pillars of the temple. This also contributes information of the resources whence Sennacherib drew means for erecting the great palace of Koyunjik, and for adding so much to the vast works at Nineveh of which he boasted. The intelligent Jew who looks at the sculptures brought thence, may sadly remember who the slaves were that the tyrant employed in those works, and whose gold he lavished on their production.

---

* LAYARD'S *Discoveries in Nineveh and Babylon*, chap. vi.

The prophet Isaiah wrote in those days of sorrow and humiliation. Well might he say, "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city" (Is. i. 7, 8). The indefatigable explorer who found the visible comment on sentences like this in the ruins of Nineveh is yet alive in the service of his country. The marble with its inscription is in our national museum, and any who will duly qualify themselves may aid in the production of volumes that will instruct posterity yet more fully in the truth of our sacred books.

Some Pharaohs.

While sometimes the correspondence between the Scripture and the monument is continuous and well sustained, at other times it is but slight. A fragment, caught unexpectedly in some remote place, suggests confirmation of the sacred narrative, serves to supply a passing note, and abruptly finishes. Here is the example:—

A Hebrew historian, with just one dip of ink on his reed, sets down these words, "Rabshakeh . . . heard say of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, Behold he is come out to fight against thee" (2 Kings xix. 9, 10). At Thebes, in Upper Egypt, in the stately ruins of the temple of Medinet Haboo, there are copious memorials of a victory won by Tehrak, one of the mightiest kings of Egypt, over the Assyrians whom he met in Syria. *Tehrak* is Tirhakah. The captain of those Assyrians in Syria was Rabshakeh. Comparative chronology, now advancing to completeness,

makes it certain that the date of their encounter was about 690 years before Christ.*

In like manner the mention of Pharaoh Necho (2 Kings xxiii. 33) and Pharaoh Hophra (Jer. xliv. 30) tallies with hieroglyphics in the great hall at Karnac, at Philæ, and at Memphis. Enough to mention these allusions, as they suggest inquiry, and certainly reward research. But we cannot help observing, by the way, that during a reign of eleven years, Pharaoh Necho displayed great zeal in striving to do a work which it remained for others to accomplish. Stimulated, perhaps, by the example of Solomon, he would fain surpass him by fairly circumnavigating Africa, and to that end essayed to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Suez. He spared no cost, and it is said that a hundred thousand slaves wasted their lives in the fruitless labour. Like Solomon, he took Phœnician seamen into his service, who sailed down the Red sea, coasted Africa, passed up the Strait of Gibraltar, sailed up the Mediterranean, and reported their adventures in Memphis, where they landed.†

Hophra, grandson of Necho, after a reign of nineteen years, left memorials of himself all over Egypt. His name is to be seen in temples and on obelisks at Cairo, Nasarieh, Thebes, Silsilis, and other places.‡

Assyrian Marbles.

But we return to the Assyrians. Every reader of the Bible remembers the blasphemy of Sennacherib's messenger, Rabshakeh, when he came "to king Hezekiah with a great

---

* Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, I. 140.

† Brugsch, ut supra, page 252.

‡ Ibid, page 257.

host against Jerusalem." He boasted that none of the gods of the nations had delivered his nation out of the hands of his master. "Who," asked Sennacherib, "who are they among all the gods of the countries that have delivered their country out of mine hand?" (2 Kings xviii. 35.) Exactly correspondent in spirit and in style is the inscription on the Bellino Cylinder: "Sennacherib, the great king, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, the king of nations of many various tongues, the monarch of their . . . the servant of the great gods. With a grateful heart . . Ashur, the great lord, has given to me the kingdom of tongues. (That is to say, the great Assyrian empire containing people of many languages.) I have established my religion and laws over the men who dwell in every land." *

The language of the marble is cool, though pompous. The language of the soldier is hot and insolent, breathing hostile defiance. Each is in character, and each confirms the other.†

Boastful imprecation was natural to men who had been taught to fancy themselves favourites, if not kinsmen of the gods, and Rabshakeh had been brought up in familiarity with the vain idea. In the palace of Khorsabad he might have often read a proud memorial of his master's predecessor, Sargon, yet not a whit more proudly spoken than the fashion of his time required.

"The great gods have made me happy by the constancy of their affection. They have granted me the exercise of my sovereignty over all kings, and have reduced them all to my obedience. From the first day of my accession, the

* *Assyrian Texts*, translated by H. F. Talbot. London, 1856. No. I, page 1.

† Rabshakeh's challenge may be dated B.C. 710.

princes, my rivals, disdained me not. I have never, like a coward, been afraid of combats and of battles. I have filled the rebels' lands with terror, and have exacted from them symbols of submission presented in the four elements. I have laid open innumerable forests, deep and vast. I have made the rough places plain. I have traversed tortuous and arid valleys, that were the abodes of mortal heats and have dug out cisterns by the way.

"By the favour and might of the great gods, my masters, I have forced my servants to obey me. By prayer I have obtained the defeat of my enemies. I have reigned from Jatnan, which is in the midst of the sea, where the sun goes down, even to the confines of Egypt, and the land of the Moschians, over vast Phœnicia, over Syria in its full extent, the whole of the Gutimuski, of far-distant Media, where it bounds on the countries of Bikni, onward to the territories of Albania, where you leave Ras, which bounds on Elam, on the banks of the Tigris, away to the tribes of Itu, of Rubu, of Haril, of Kaldud, of Hauran, of Ubúl, of Ruboá, of the Litaï, who dwell on the banks of the Surappi, and of the Ukui, of Gambul, of Khindar, of Pukúd.*

"I have reigned over the Suti hunters that are in the land of Yathur the notable, unto the cities of Samhún, of Bal-Karakh, of Karakh-Tilit, of Gukát, of Dunni-Samás, of Bubi, of Tel-Khumba, which are dependencies of Elam, and of Tirat-Dinuya, the high and the low, of the countries of Beth-Amu-Khan, of Beth Dakkúr, of Beth-Silan, of Beth-Sa'alla, which all are from Chaldæa, over the country of

* Perhaps this is the Pekod of Jer. l. 21, and Ezek. xxiii. 23. Jeremiah predicted that Babylon, in whose empire Pekod was included after the fall of Nineveh, should lose it. Ezekiel also predicted that the men of Pekod would invade Samaria.

Beth-Yakin on the sea-shore, on the borders of Asmún. I have received their tributes, I have set my lieutenants over them as governors, and I have reduced them under my dominion."*

The enumeration of so many peoples, each having its own god, might sound formidable enough to those who did not know that they were "*no gods*, but the work of men's hands, wood and stone," as king Hezekiah pleaded in his prayer (2 Kings xix. 18). Their monstrous images with a certain grotesque elegance represented forms impossible in nature, as the photogram now before us is sufficient to illustrate, where gods look as if they were doing themselves honour by waiting on king Ashur-izir-pal.

Babylon.

After the conqueror of Samaria, Shalmaneser, and the principal invader of Judæa, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, conqueror of Jerusalem, is the most prominent of oriental sovereigns in Biblical history. His name appears almost without the change of a letter in the nomenclature of the cuneiform inscription where for נבוכדראצר, they read *Nabu-kúdúri-útsúr*. His proceedings in the capture of Jerusalem are narrated by Daniel with appropriate brevity. He carried "part of the vessels of the house of God into the land of Shinar to the house of *his* god." He commanded Ashpenaz, the master of his eunuchs, to bring certain of the Israelitish youths of high birth and education to stand in the king's palace, to whom they might teach the learning and the tongue of the Chaldæans (Dan. i. 1—4). This

* *Grande Inscription du Palais de Khorsabad,* publiée et commentée par MM. Oppert et Ménant. Paris, 1863. Page 6.

FIG. 16.

A BRICK OF SENNACHERIB.

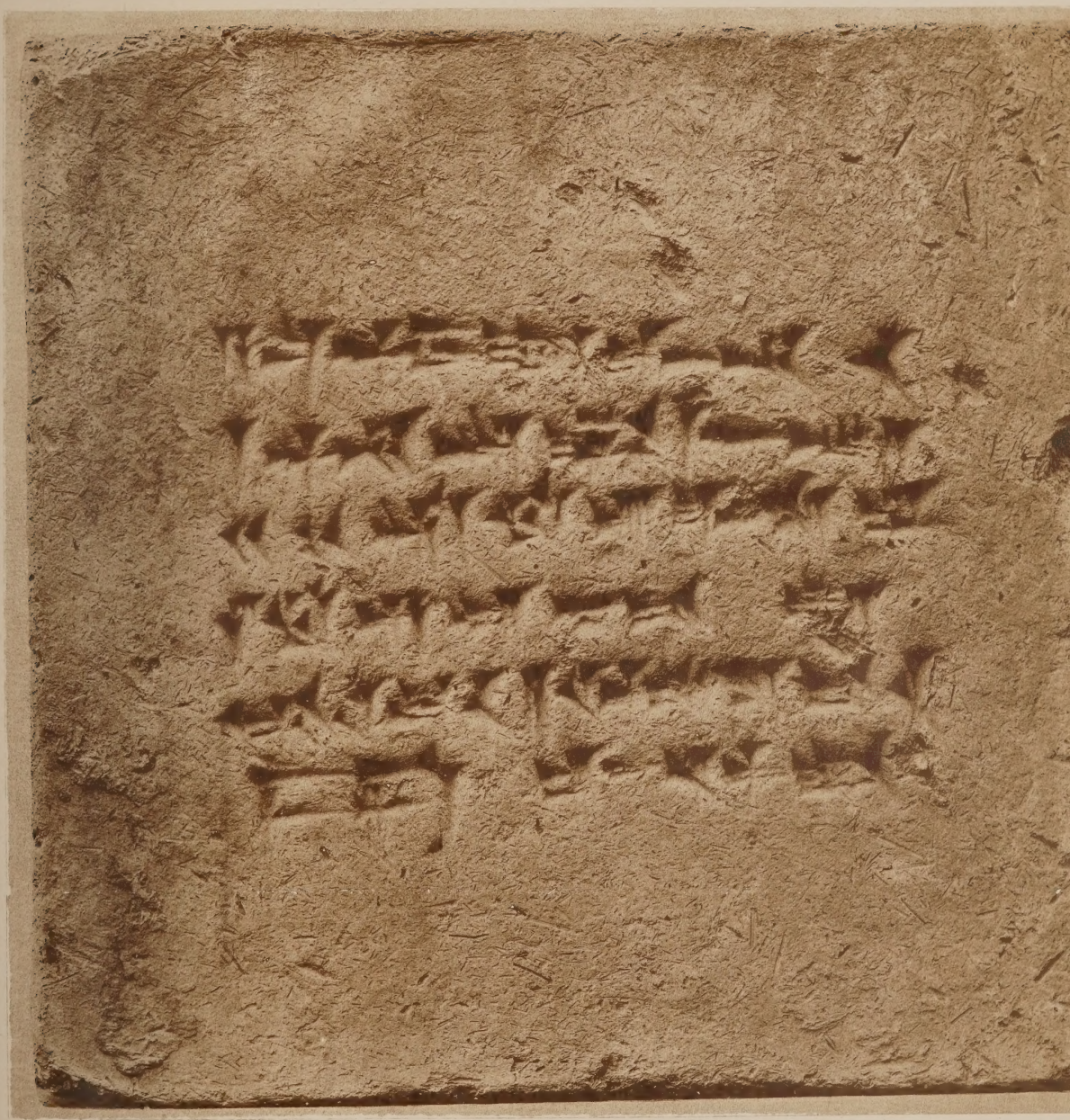


FIG. 17.

A BAS-RELIEF OF ASSHUR-IZIR-PAL.

took place in the year 606 before Christ, and is an exact repetition of the doings of Sennacherib a few years before when he took Babylon, and reduced it to subjection under the king of Nineveh, as we learn from the following record of that event, given in his name on the Bellino Cylinder.

"Then I completely stripped and plundered his palace in the middle of Babylon. I opened his treasure-house. Gold and silver, golden vessels, precious stones called carbuncles, and *sutasku* (?), goods and valuables, and treasures in great number; his wife, and the male and female servants of his palace, his noblemen, the ten men in command of the divisions of his whole army, (I took) and distributed them as loot and spoil.

"The man Belib, son of him that was governor over the young men educated in my palace (compare Daniel i. 11), I placed over the land as ruler of . . . . . .

"I completely ravaged the country of the following tribes (on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates) and all the people of the Aramæans. A vast number of the inhabitants, both male and female, 7,200 horses and mares, more than 11,000 mules, 5,230 camels, and . . . . sheep, a vast spoil I carried off from the midst of Assyria.

"The men of the city of Khismi, impious heretics, who from days of old refused to submit to my authority, I put to death, according to my religious laws. Not one soul escaped."*

We learn furthermore, from the Cylinder of Esarhaddon, that conformity to the king's religion was not enforced on the captives of Nebuchadnezzar only. "By the labour of foreign slaves, my captives," says Esarhaddon, "who lift up their hands in prayer, in the name of the great gods, my lords, I built thirty temples."†

* Talbot, *ut supra*, pp. 2—7.

† *Ibid*, p. 10.

Refraining from literary and antiquarian illustration of the Book of Daniel,* we restrict our observation to *monuments* as exclusively as possible. From that source much may be learned concerning the scene on the plain ot Dura. Yet, first of all, we should be satisfied to know where that plain was, for Dura seemed to have vanished out of sight with the extinct topography of Babylon and its environs. But M. Oppert has actually found the place. Describing the ruins *autour de Babylone*, he says that "the group which touches nearest on the boundary of the city is that of Dura. After having followed the road of Diwaniyeh as far as the *Nahr-Eyúb* (river of Job), near which is found a sanctuary dedicated to this saint, as the Mohammedans account him, and leaving on one side an Arab ruin called *Maamery*, you cross the long canal of *Keriyet-Ali*, go towards the plain south-eastward, cross the dry beds of old canals, and after a journey of eight kilomètres, come to an old water-course called *Nahr-Dura* (river Dura), and at length you will reach a number of little mounds on the south-east, bearing the name of *Tolúl-Dura*, or mounds of Dura. Then, having travelled from north to south, you come to where the Dura river discharges itself after a course of nearly a myriamètre, or nine miles and a half."†

The scene of the narrative of Daniel iii. 1—7 is therefore now known to have been an extensive plain south of Babylon; and this is one of the frequently occurring discoveries which encourage every earnest student to believe that when the wealth of material, as yet undiscovered or undeciphered, shall be laid open to the eye of the learned, and when cuneiform literature has become a recognised and

* For which see RULE's *Historical Exposition of the Book of the Prophet Daniel.* London, 1870.

† OPPERT, *Mésopotamie*, liv. II., chap. x.

accessible department of liberal education, little or nothing of what has been hitherto obscure in Old Testament history will continue unexplained.

Now, with the elementary volumes of M. Oppert before him, any one who has time and ability may learn how to master the recovered language.

The erection of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image took place about the year B.C. 580. The old notion that the צֶלֶם of the Book of Daniel was a statue in human form cannot be admitted for a moment. Such a notion is inconsistent with the exact statement of its proportions, threescore cubits in height, and six cubits in breadth, about nine feet broad and ninety feet high. It is not credible that a man so little addicted to burlesque as Nebuchadnezzar's general conduct indicates, would have had any human figure elongated so ridiculously, much less to associate his own name with it; nor, in the Assyrian sculptures,—for this was Assyrian in style, although set up at Babylon,—is there any instance of such grotesque distortion. The description of the pillar, or obelisk, and of the state-solemnity at its dedication, is entirely explained by the inscriptions.

An Assyrian king, named *Ashur-akh-bal*, about three hundred and fifty years earlier, erected a similar object in one of the cities he had conquered, and it is thus written in his annals:—"I established true religious worship, and holy rites throughout the land of Tsuki. As far as the land of Karduniash, I extended the true religion of my empire. The people of Chaldæa, who were contemners and revilers of my religion, I impaled and slew them. Over all the lands which border on the river Euphrates I imposed my laws. *I made an image of my majesty: the laws and emblems of my true religion I wrote upon it, and in the city of Tsuki I fixed it up.*"

Here we see how contemners and revilers of these gods were dealt with, and this glance discovers force in the circumstantial illustration of the text in Daniel, and more force is given it by two verses of an oracle quoted by Justin Martyr,* which shews that the Chaldæans thus coerced into idolatry in an earlier reign were very like the three Hebrews of sacred history.

Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἠδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,
Αὐτογένητον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι θεὸν ἀγνώς.

Only the Chaldæans attained to wisdom, and the Hebrews, chastely worshipping as God a self-born King. Bating all that is necessary from the praise of the Chaldæans, although the ill character given them by Herodotus and the Romans may not always have been so deserved, we learn what would be the idolatrous character of such a celebration in the age of Daniel. Then, again, we hear from Sennacherib of a similar festivity which took place much nearer the date of the narrative before us.

"On a fortunate and lucky day, *during the public worship of the people*, I piously dedicated the foundation-stone, I surrounded it with large *sarnat*† stones; I strengthened its *subuk*.† I erected sculptured tablets containing my name, (i.e. annals,) which extended in length a hundred and sixty palms. Upon these I wrote . . . ."‡

If the three Hebrews had, by any act whatever, countenanced the worship of Nebuchadnezzar's obelisk, recognised the memorials of the gods cut or carved in it, or failed to testify against the ceremonial, they would have denied the God of Israel. But there is yet, in some minds, a

* Just. Mart. *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, cap. xi.

† Not yet translated.

‡ *Assyrian Texts*, translated by H. F. Talbot. London, 1856. No. 1, page 22, and pages 7, 8.

difficulty as to the *tsĕlém* being golden. It was, no doubt, "clothed in gold," or gilded, as were the gates and pillars of the temple in Jerusalem, and some of the obelisks in Egypt. So Brugsch describes two large ones near a temple at Assasif, each a hundred and eight ells in height, and gilded all over.*

A record of the madness of Nebuchadnezzar was not to have been expected on any monument of his. But we learn from Daniel that he was so convinced of the greatness of Daniel's God, who had enabled his servant to foretell it, that he made a solemn acknowledgment of his recovery; and we find an allusion to it. "At the end of twelve months," after a portentous dream, which Daniel had faithfully interpreted, "the king walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon. He spake and said, Is not this the great Babylon that I have built for the house of my kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" (Dan. iv. 29, 30.) That he built Babylon, in the same sense as he built the Tower of Babel, is matter of history, not to be disputed, and his amazing activity as a builder is attested by every one of the innumerable bricks imprinted with his name. Many of them are dug out of the mounds of Babylon; but there is a long inscription, known as his standard inscription, which verifies the boast. It was found in the mound of Amram, the great southern ruin of Babylon, eleven hundred yards in length, and eight hundred in its greatest breadth, where stood, as is believed, the royal palace so often mentioned in the Book of Daniel. The inscription records a multitude of costly and extensive works of many kinds, including the famous walls, canals, and reservoir, with the palace itself. Here is a part of it:—

* Brugsch, *Histoire*, page 109.

"The double inclosure which Nabopolassar, my father, had made, but not completed, I finished. Nabopolassar made its ditch. With two long embankments of brick and mortar he bound its bed. He made the embankment of the *Arakha*. He lined the other side of the Euphrates with brick. He made a bridge over the Euphrates, but did not finish its buttresses (?). From * * * (the name of a place) he made with bricks burnt as hard as stones, by the help of the great lord Merodach, a way (for) a branch of the *Shimat* to the waters of the *Yapur-Shapu*, the great reservoir of Babylon, opposite to the gate of *Nin*.

"The *Ingur-Bel* and the *Nimiti-Bel*—the great double wall of Babylon—I finished. With two long embankments of brick and mortar I built the sides of its ditch. I joined it on with that which my father had made. I strengthened the city. Across the river to the west I built the wall of Babylon with brick. The *Yapur-Shapu*, the reservoir of Babylon, by the grace of Merodach, I filled completely full of water. With bricks burnt as hard as stones, and with bricks in huge masses like mountains (?) the *Yapur-Shapu*, from the gate of *Mula* as far as *Nana*, who is the protectress of her votaries, by the grace of his godship (Merodach) I strengthened. With that which my father had made I joined it. I made the way of *Nana*, the protectress of her votaries. The great gates of the *Ingur-Bel*, and the *Nimiti-Bel*, the reservoir of Babylon at the time of the flood (i.e. of fulness) inundated them. These gates I raised. Against the waters, their foundations with brick and mortar I built." [Here follows a description of gates with decorations, etc.] "For the delight of mankind I filled the reservoir. Behold! besides the *Ingur-Bel*, the impregnable fortification of Babylon, I constructed inside Babylon, on the eastern side of the river, a fortification such as no king had ever made before

me, viz., a long rampart, 4,000 *ammas* square, as an extra defence. I excavated the ditch; with brick and mortar I bound its bed; a long rampart at its head (?) I strongly built. I adorned its gates. The folding-doors and the pillars I plated with copper. Against presumptuous enemies, who were hostile to the men of Babylon, great waters, like the waters of the ocean, I made use of abundantly. Their depths were like the depths of the vast ocean. I did not allow the waters to overflow, but the fulness of their floods I caused to flow on, restraining them with a brick embankment. * * * * Thus I completely made strong the defences of Babylon. May it last for ever!

[Here follows a similar account of works at Borsippa.]

"In Babylon, the city which is the delight of my eyes, and which I have made glorious, when the waters (of the Euphrates) were in flood, they inundated the foundations of the great palace called *Taprati-nisi*, or Wonder of Mankind; a palace with many chambers and lofty towers; the high place of royalty situated in the land of Babylon, and in the middle of Babylon; stretching from the *Ingur-Bel*, (part of the double wall) to the bed of the *Shebil*, or eastern canal, and from the bank of the *Seppara* river to the water of the *Yapur-Shapú*, which Nabopolassar, my father, built with brick, and raised up. When the reservoir was full, the gates of this palace were flooded. I raised the mound of brick on which it was built, and made its platform smooth. I cut off the floods of water, and the foundations of the palace I protected against the water with bricks and mortar, and I finished it completely. I set up long beams to support it. I built up its gates with pillars and beams plated with copper, and strengthened with iron. Silver and gold, and precious stones whose names are almost

unknown"—here follow many names of objects, treasures of the palace, which cannot be translated—"these I stored up inside, and there I placed the treasure-house of my kingdom."

Nebuchadnezzar's Madness.

HERE the tale of great works done is abruptly interrupted. The king does not say what befell him, how he lost his reason, and ran wild in the woods; but the following words, which would otherwise be most obscure, become plain enough when read side by side with the marvellous narrative of Daniel.

"Four years the seat of my kingdom in the city . . . . which . . . did not rejoice my heart. In all my dominions I did not build a high place of power. The precious treasures of my kingdom I did not lay up. In Babylon, buildings for myself, and for the honour of my kingdom, I did not lay out. In the worship of Merodach, my lord, the joy of my heart, in Babylon, in the city of his sovereignty, and the seat of my empire, I did not sing his praises, nor did I furnish his altars, nor did I clear out the canals."

Other negative sentences follow, which all enlarge the significance and deepen the emphasis of this most remarkable pause in the career of activity and enjoyment. Then, as if to make perfect the parallel of his self-recorded history with the Book of Daniel, he resumes the catalogue of splendid labours;* and as if satisfied with having proclaimed elsewhere the honour of Daniel's God, a limitation which in effect rejected Him from being God of Nebuchadnezzar, he makes no mention of Him here.

But there is an apparent contradiction between the *seven*

* RAWLINSON'S *Herodotus*, II., 486, 487.

times of the Book of Daniel, and the *four years* of the inscription. Times, however, not years, are specified by Daniel (iv. 16), and the Chaldee original וְשִׁבְעָה עִדְנִין יַחְלְפוּן עֲלוֹהִי is literally translated by Theodotion, *καὶ ἑπτὰ καιροὶ ἀλλαγήσονται ἐπ' αὐτόν*, *And seven seasons will change over him.* Summer and winter are the only seasons counted in Babylonia. If seven seasons *changed* over the King, the eighth season would certainly begin, and might be far advanced. According to the usual method of counting time, it would be necessary to say *four years.* Between seven and eight seasons, therefore, being equivalent with four years, the text of Daniel and the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar are in exact agreement.

The historic portion of the Old Testament contains little more to engage our attention after the captivity. The prophetic pictures of the Book of Daniel so faithfully represent the events which followed, and are recorded in the apocryphal books and in general history, that Porphyry chose to pronounce that book a composition of date later than the events predicted. Facts, however, disprove this allegation. Ezekiel the prophet, a fellow captive of Daniel, makes honourable mention of him. The book which bears his name, and is a memorial of his life, was received early into the canon of the Old Testament, probably by Ezra, most certainly before the time of Simon the Just, who died about 320 years before Christ, after having closed the canon. The Fall of Babylon was first in the succession of events foretold by Daniel, and that catastrophe is briefly described by himself in his account of Belshazzar's banquet, where he read and explained the sentence written on the wall, and instantly thereupon executed.

Cyrus the Great.

The Fall of Babylon is described so fully by Herodotus and Xenophon, and the latter exhibits the incidents of that event so graphically, that a mere summary of his narrative would be inadequate to convey a just impression of its beauty. But it should be noted*:—

1. That Babylon was taken by Cyrus the Great in the year 538 before Christ, and the capture of the city was recorded by Daniel, historian and prophet.

2. That Herodotus visited Babylon and wrote his history about a century later, B.C. 430, when men were living whose fathers could have related to them what they had themselves witnessed.

3. That Xenophon, an eloquent and famous Greek who entered the service of a successor of Cyrus the Conqueror, and resided at Agbátana, wrote his biography of that prince from the imperial archives. The Cyropœdia contains a clear and vigorous description of the siege and capture of the city, with the death of the king, and slaughter of the drunken banqueters; and however opinions may vary as to the degree of artistic license in which Xenophon may sometimes have indulged, there cannot be a shadow of doubt as to the substantial truth of every lineament in his picture† of the capture of the Golden City.

---

* To the eye of the reader let the succession of dates be shown.

B.C. 712 Isaiah (xiii.) saw the burden of Babylon.

B.C. 595 Jeremiah predicted the overthrow of Babylon, and wrote in a book all the evil that should come upon it (Jer. l., li.).

B.C. 538 The Medes and Persians annihilated the Babylonian monarchy, and Daniel recorded the event.

B.C. 430 Herodotus gathered an account of it in the fallen city.

B.C. 350 *c* Xenophon wrote his narrative of the Medo-Persian conquest as he found it recorded in the Persian Archives.

† *Xenophontis Cyropœdia*, VII.

Such agreement of histories is very satisfactory, but more than satisfactory—wonderful is "the burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see," a hundred and seventy-five years before that memorable night. He saw in vision the banner lifted up, and the waving of the captain's hand. He heard the voice that bade the mighty ones go into the gates of the nobles. He heard the howling of the affrighted multitudes, beheld the drooping of the hands and saw the melting of the hearts when every one that was found should be thrust through, and every one that was joined with them should fall by the sword. He plainly declared that the Lord would *stir up the Medes against them* (Is. xiii.). Jeremiah, too, nearly sixty years before the conquest by the Medes and Persians, had anticipated history in language so express that not a word need be altered to bring him into exact agreement with Daniel, Herodotus, and Xenophon (Jerem. l., li.).

Not long after the Fall of Babylon came the restoration of Jerusalem, which also had been predicted by the same prophets.

About 712 years before Christ Isaiah wrote these words: "The LORD . . . . saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid" (Is. xliv. 28.).

About 124 years after this prophecy, the Babylonians completed the ruin of Jerusalem by burning the Temple, breaking down the walls, and rasing the habitations.

But in 52 years after the great calamity, the Temple and city of Jerusalem being destroyed utterly, the Hebrews denationalised and scattered in captivity, the great City Nineveh made a desolation, the Assyrian empire extinct, the Babylonian annihilated, and the Persian set up on its

ruins—nearly two centuries after the name of Cyrus was pronounced by the prophet, a king bearing this very name sits firmly on the throne of Persia, and Ezra the scribe records the fulfilment of the prophecy in these plain words:—

"Now in the first year of Cyrus, King of Persia, that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled,"—for Jeremiah (xxv. 1—14) had also foretold that seventy years from the fall of Jerusalem the King of Babylon would be punished, and the Hebrew captives all set free,—"the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, King of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, King of Persia, The Lord God of Heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and He hath charged me to build Him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all His people? His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel,—He is the God,—which is in Jerusalem" (Ezra i. 1—3).

The good work was happily accomplished. The name of Cyrus the Great, so singularly famous, is written in the Book of God, and in the annals of Persia. After a reign of twenty-nine years, he died in a good old age. His tomb yet remains at Pasargadæ, in Persia,* and although violated ages ago for the sake of the precious objects it was supposed to contain, and even the sarcophagus and its contents lost, the long-enduring name remains inscribed on the marble pillars of the empty coffin-chamber: I AM CYRUS THE KING, THE ACHÆMENIAN.

---

* SIR ROBERT KER PORTER'S *Travels*, I. p. 498.

FIG. 18.

A BRICK OF CYRUS.

FIG. 19.

TOMB OF CYRUS.

J. CORBET, ANDERSON, DEL

WALLER SC

THE HEBREW BIBLE.

CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

MOSES recorded the divine promise that a Prophet like himself should be raised up among his brethren, unto whom God commanded them to hearken. The promise was fulfilled in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, between whom and the New Testament there is a relation similar to that which subsisted between Moses and the Old, except that the Christian relation in the New Testament is intimate, all-pervading and exclusive, as the Mosaic is not in the Old.

With regard to the canon, we must observe that the Hebrew Bible contains the same books as were acknowledged by the Jews in the time of Christ, and received as canonical by St. Jerome* and the Christian Church in his day, and by ourselves now. After Ezra and the Great Synagogue they were divided into three classes, the Law or Five Books of Moses, the Former and Latter Prophets, and the Psalms or *Scriptures*, כתובים. This classification

* The *Prologus galeatus* of JEROME names the same books as are contained in the Hebrew Bible, and translated in our own Authorised English Version. That preface is usually prefixed to the editions of the Latin Vulgate, published by authority in the Church of Rome. Several apocryphal writings were added by the Council of Trent in the 16th century. After sharp debate that Council passed the following:—"Sacrorum vero librorum Indicem huic decreto adscribendum censuit, ne cui dubitatio suboriri possit, *qui ab ipsa Synodo suscipiuntur*. Sunt vero infrascripti: Testamenti veteris—quinque Moysi, id est Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Josue, Judicum, Ruth, quatuor Regum, duo Paralipomenon, Esdrae primus, et secundus qui dicitur Nehemias, *Tobias, Judith,* Hesther, Job, Psalterium Davidicum

is expressly admitted in the New Testament; the Divine Legation of Moses is thus acknowledged, and it is important for us to understand on what principle this acknowledgment of the Old Testament canon rests.

We have already spoken of the writings of Moses, whose mission was so signally accredited that their authenticity and authority could never be successfully disputed. It was Moses who first wrote by divine inspiration, and his five books have been accepted accordingly without question, except by unbelieving Jews, for such there are, as well as unbelieving Christians. Even the book whereon Moses' Law was written was considered holy. The Roll was to be laid up in the ark, or with it, as an object inviolably sacred. The ordinances it contained were to be observed by all the newly constituted nation, and a faithful observance of them would be their life. That scripture has been externally reverenced at least, and the nation that preserves it has continued in the world while other ancient nations have been swept away. To this very time the books of Moses, in the language wherein they were originally written, are read aloud in the synagogues every Sabbath-day. Thus there is the general consent of the most ancient people in the world to testify that they are accepted and honoured as divine. If there were no other evidence existing, with this it would be impossible to doubt the antiquity of the nation, the record of their origin, and the authenticity of their Law.

---

centum quinquaginta Psalmorum, Parabolæ, Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum, *Sapientia*, *Ecclesiasticus*, Isaiah, Jeremias, *cum Baruch*, Ezechiel, Daniel, duodecim Prophetæ minores, id est Osea, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Michæas, Nahum, Habacuch, Sophonias, Aggæus, Zacharias, Malachias, *duo Machabeorum primus et secundus*." (Conc. Trident. Sessio iv. Decretum de canonicis Scripturis). The additions by the Council are here printed in italics.

The other historical books, also called *the Former Prophets*, are equally national and alike undisputed.

The Latter Prophets, which include all the prophets except Daniel, have received confirmation by evidence of which no other books are capable. Prophecy and history are now literally collated, and their ascertained agreement is an irrefragable proof of the divine origin of the religion which Moses and the Prophets taught. On this evidence all those writings were originally accepted, and they retain their place as divinely authorised Scriptures, or as we say, *canonical*.

The Hagiographa, or sacred writings, are the remaining portions of the Old Testament, and being for the most part of later date were not unreasonably classed lower by the Jews. Confirmation like that given to the earlier writings had not yet been found for these.

It is generally admitted that the first man who applied himself to collect and copy accurately the historical, prophetic and miscellaneous writings of the Old Testament,—excepting the books of Nehemiah and Malachi, which were written later,—was Ezra the scribe. It was he who went from Babylon, a little more than 450 years before Christ, to promote religion and good order in Jerusalem.

About 130 years after Ezra, Simon the Just, last President of the Great Synagogue, Ezra having been the first, and advised as we may suppose by devout and learned brethren, declared all those books worthy to be accepted. The Jews therefore say that Simon closed, or sealed, the canon.

But we Christians could not say so much, neither could heathens be expected to bow with any peculiar veneration and religious deference to Simon. He did not, like Moses, bring miracles for credentials, nor had he the gift of

prophecy. Neither should we or they sufficiently respect the credit of the Jews to trust them in a matter affecting our personal salvation. All that Simon and his brethren could hope the world to do was to acknowledge the value of their labours in subjecting to critical enquiry writings of which some were not yet conclusively certified.

The test which they applied was very searching, it proved sufficient, and they were satisfied. So were others. The whole nation had possessed and read the books for many centuries. Lovers of traditional fables, and zealous contenders for the authority of the written word of God alone, parties most opposite, representatives of principles most directly contrary, agreed in the same conclusion, and their unanimity was admirable. But no unanimity of worldly judges could be sufficient for so high a purpose as that of giving sanction to the Book of God. Neither Synagogue nor Church, neither Sanhedrim nor Council, might so far presume.

Sufficient power and authority for certifying the books of the Old Testament were found in Christ. In His person the most important prophecies were fulfilled. His works bore testimony to His Godhead. His resurrection from the dead, and the triumphant establishment of Christianity, in manifest fulfilment of what Moses and the Prophets had written, declared Him worthy of universal trust, even as the fruits of Christian Faith in all the world continue to certify that He is Faithful and True.

A glance down the margins of the Gospels tells us at once how our Divine Master cited the Hebrew Scriptures for testimony to His Messiahship and confirmation of His doctrine. In like manner, all the New Testament bears witness to the Old; which tells that it is the very Bible that our Lord Himself and the Apostles used.

But is the *text* of the Bible we have at this day the same as theirs? Has it been exchanged for any other, or is it altered? We may judge as we proceed.

The Samaritan Pentateuch.

Soon after the death of Solomon, in whose reign the Levitical worship had been conducted with full solemnity, the kingdom of Israel was divided. After the schism, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin remained in Judæa, and worshipped the Lord in His temple at Jerusalem. The northern tribes who occupied Samaria had a religion of their own, fell into gross idolatry, were soon attacked by foreign enemies, and eventually carried away captive into Assyria. A mongrel heathen population was then brought in by the conqueror to take their place, and for want of a truer name the strangers were called Samaritans. Fearing the anger of the God of the land, they besought the King of Assyria to send over some one to teach them His ways. The king, having many Hebrew priests among the captives, sent one of them to teach the new inhabitants how they ought to serve the Lord (2 Kings xvii. 24—28).

This priest brought over the Book of the Law with him, which was as much of the Bible as he had, or as much as he would believe to be divine. Perhaps no more as yet was thus accepted, and as the Samaritans had thenceforth no dealings with the Israelites in regard to sacred things, they would not receive any of the Scriptures that were afterwards written. But the Five Books of Moses were still retained; they are preserved with religious care by their descendants now remaining on the site of the ancient city, and wherever you find the book it is known as "The Samaritan Pentateuch."

Representing, with a few obvious exceptions, the work of Moses, the volume lay out of sight of Europeans until early in the seventeenth century, when a French priest brought home a copy to Paris, where it was published in the year 1631. In the Synagogue of the Samaritans at Nablús *(Neapolis)*, the Shechem of Genesis, the Sychem or Sychar of the New Testament, there is a very old copy, which they say is the book originally given to their ancestors. This is hardly credible, but the manuscript is said to be of great age, and is probably the archetype of the few other copies that exist. All the manuscripts that we know are written in the same character, and in the same style of primitive simplicity. There are no vowels, nor is there any interpunctuation beyond a single point (·) after each word, except when the word finishes close on the left-hand margin. After allowing for inevitable variations in the writing, each one of the copies is probably as good as any other, and where closely literal collation is made, the variants are found to be of extremely slight importance. If not very ancient, they are copied from an ancient source.

An exact fac-simile of the second section of the Book of Genesis (i. 6—8), as divided by the Samaritans, obtained by tracing from the manuscript presented by Archbishop Usher to the Cottonian Library, written in the year of our Lord 1362, is before the reader.*

The document, thus perpetuated for at least 2,550 years, contains direct confirmation of statements made in the second book of Kings and elsewhere, concerning the schism of the Israelites in the time of Rehoboam. Being originally written some ages earlier than the establishment of Synagogues, this manuscript is not divided into the *Parashióth*, or Sabbath Lessons, which became necessary

* British Museum: Cottonian MSS., *Claudius*, B. VIII.

FIG. 20.

SAMARITAN MS.

GENESIS i. 6—8.

ᐅᑕᑕ. -ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᑕᓴᓴᓂᓱᓄ.

ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ.

ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ.

ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ.

ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ.

ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ. ᓴᓱᐃᓴᐃᓂᓱᓄ.

when Moses was read every sabbath-day.* But more valuable to the biblical student than even the archaic simplicity of the page are the plain traces of sectarian hostility, characteristic of the people and the time. Such, especially, is the reading in Deuteronomy (xxvii. 4), where the word Gerizim was substituted for Ebal, in order to produce a belief that God had commanded an altar to be erected on Gerizim, the mount of blessings, where the Samaritans offered their sacrifices, and subsequently built their temple, as if to rival the worshippers in the Second Temple at Jerusalem. On that spot their descendants continue to sacrifice a lamb every Passover, and thus they keep alive the memory of the schism which first in the history of the world divided the Church of God.

The title of the Samaritan Pentateuch, to be counted among monuments of the authenticity of sacred history, is clear enough when we consider that, with the exceptions now mentioned, it answers to the Hebrew word for word, and that these exceptions are confirmatory of what we read in the Hebrew Bible of the schism and constant enmity of the Samaritans. Both Samaritan and Judæan manuscripts have various readings, and a few of the Samaritan—but very few—are not found in the Judæan. These few, however, are pronounced by those who have collated them, to be generally of little value, and varying no more than is inevitable on either side.†

* The Law was then divided into weekly Readings through the entire year. But it would not be just to the Samaritans to overlook the fact that they also possess and read the Books of Joshua and Judges. The Prophets they may read, but do not hold them to be of divine authority. Procopius of Gaza, an author of the sixth century, noticed that they had then the Books of Moses, but made little account of the Prophets. Actual communication with themselves confirms this testimony. (See Wrangham's Walton's *Prolegomena* XI., sect. ix. 2).

† For the characteristic differences, see Appendix C. in this volume.

The Septuagint Greek Version.

An effectual guard against radical corruption of the Hebrew text was very early provided by translations. About the year 286 before Christ, between thirty and forty years after the death of Simon the Just, a translation of the Five Books of Moses from the original into Greek, was made in Alexandria. Ptolemy Lagus, or his son Philadelphus, king of Egypt, having founded an extensive library, and hearing of a law by which the Jews had been governed in past ages, sent messengers to their High Priest in Jerusalem requesting a complete copy of the code, together with skilful translators. His request was granted. The Law, as the Jews appropriate the word, was readily sent to him. Translators came with it, and rendered the text into Greek with diligence and accuracy, as they read or understood it. Others came with the remaining books.

Educated Greeks, no less than Greek-speaking Jews, would read the version freely. It is evident that Plato derived much knowledge from it, so that he was once called *Moses atticising*, Μωυσῆς ἀττικίζων. It is confidently believed that Zeno and the Stoics drew from the same source those elements of purity and devotion which rendered their philosophy almost an introduction to Christianity among the Greeks.

Excellent as the Septuagint* version of the *Law* might be, the translators following did not so faithfully reproduce all the other portions of the Hebrew Scriptures. But, at

---

* *Septuaginta.* The old legend of *seventy* doctors confined in *seventy* cells, and in their solitude producing *seventy* Greek Bibles, each of them identical to a syllable with all the rest, although perpetuated in the name of the version, is universally rejected as absurd

the best, no version can be so exactly true as to supersede the original, nor can it ever be of equal authority for the removal of doubt as to the meaning of an inspired writer. Hence both Jews and Christians have differed among themselves in estimating the value of the Alexandrian translation, which is the work of different persons, and consequently very unequal. Notwithstanding every defect, Greek-speaking Christians gladly accepted its aid in teaching their catechumens. Jews, on the other hand, who had once boasted that their wise men, the translators, were inspired, and who kept a yearly feast to commemorate the publication of their law among the Gentiles, hated the work they had admired, when they saw it made subservient to the propagation of Christianity. The Jerusalem Pharisees must have heard with profound discomfort the Prophet of Nazareth quoting the Law and the Prophets according to the version procured from that Holy City for the Gentiles by king Ptolemy.

Critics find the text of the Seventy incorporated with the text of the New Testament, and you may see a threefold tabulation of Old Testament sentences in the Gospels and Epistles, according to the Hebrew original, or the Septuagint Greek, or the sense of the passage irrespective of the letter, whether Greek or Hebrew. In any case, the comparative uncertainty of many renderings induced a salutary caution in the early Christian Fathers; in Origen, Justin the Martyr and Tertullian, whose textual studies opened the way for an enlightened literal study of the word of God.

So influential an example, too, of publishing that word in a vernacular language, gave timely encouragement for the promulgation of revealed truth in all the languages of the world, and added impressive emphasis to the descrip-

tion of the Saviour given in anticipation of His birth: A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of His people Israel. The reader has before him, in facsimile, a passage* from the Sinaitic Manuscript of the Old Testament discovered on Mount Sinai by Professor Tischendorf, and now at St. Petersburg. It is a manuscript of great age, so beautifully written, and of such a character that it could scarcely have been executed for a private person, and some think that it might have been one of the fifty copies of the entire Bible which the Emperor Constantine the Great, in the year 331, directed to be made, under the care of Eusebius of Cæsarea, for use in the "Constantian city," Byzantium, to which city he had now given his own name, that instead of the idols which he caused to be removed, people might admire and peruse the sacred book.

Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, all of them translators of lower reputation, if not inferior merit, endeavoured to improve upon the Septuagint, or some parts of it. At least three others, but their names are not known, did the like, and all but Theodotion might have been forgotten if they were not mentioned by such men as Jerome and Epiphanius. But Origen effectually preserved them from oblivion by collating fragments of their versions for the purpose of throwing light on the state of the Hebrew Text in their time, early in the Christian era.

Chaldee Targums.

After the Babylonian captivity, when the Hebrews were in some degree weaned from their old besetment of idolatry, and delivered from apostate kings and hireling prophets, a desire to read and understand the Bible sprang

* Isaiah i. 1—3.

Fig. 21.

SEPTUAGINT IN SINAITIC MS.

Isaiah i. 1—3.

ΟΡΑCΙCΗΝΕΙΔΕΝΗ
CΑΪΑCΥΪΟCΑΜΩCΗ͞
ΕΙΔΕΝΚΑΤΑΤΗCΪΟΥ
ΔΑΙΑC·ΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΪΕ
ΡΟΥCΑΛΗΜΕΝΒΑ͞Ι
ΔΙΑΟΖΕΙΟΥΚΑΙΪΩ
ΑΘΑΜ·ΚΑΙΑ͞ΧΑ͞Ζ͞·
ΚΑΙΕΖΕΚΙΟΥ·
ΟΙΕΒΑCΙΛΕΥCΑΝΤΗ͞C
ΪΟΥΔΑΙΑC·
ΑΚΟΥΕΟΥΡΑΝΕΚΑΙ͞Ε
ΝΩΤΙΖΟΥΓΗΟΤΙΚ͞C
ΕΛΑΛΗCΕΝ·
ΫΪΟΥCΕΓΕΝΝΗCΑ͞Ϛ
ΫΨΩCΑΑΥΤΟΙΔΕΜ͞Ε
ΗΘΕΤΗCΑΝ· ΕΓΝ͞Ω
ΒΟΥCΤΟΝΚΤΗCΑΜ͞Ε
ΝΟΝ· ΚΑΙΟΝΟCΤΗ͞
ΦΑΤΝΗΗΝΤΟΥΚ͞ΥΑ͞Ϛ
ΤΟΥΪCΡΑΗΛ͞ΔΕΜΕΟΥΚ͞Ε
ΓΝΩ· ΚΑΙΟΛΛΟC
ΜΕΟΥCΥΝΗΚΕΝ·

FIG. 22.

SEPTUAGINT IN VATICAN MS.

PSALM i. ii. 1—3.

ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ Α̅Ν̅Η̅Ρ̅ Ο̅Σ̅ Ο̅Υ̅Κ̅ Ε̅ΠΟΡΕΥΘΗ Ε̅Ν̅
ΒΟΥΛΗ̅ Α̅Σ̅ΕΒΩ̅Ν̅
ΚᾺΙ Ε̅Ν̅ΟΔΩ̅ Α̅Μ̅ΑΡΤΩΛΩ̅Ν̅ΟΥΚ̅ Ε̅Σ̅Τ̅Η̅
ΚᾺΙ Ε̅Π̅Ι̅ΚΑΘΈΔΡΑΝ̅ΛΟΙΜΩ̅Ν̅ΟΥΚ̅ Ε̅Κ̅Α̅ΈΚ̅Ε̅
Α̅ΛΛ̅Η̅ Ε̅Ν̅ Τ̅Ω̅Ν̅ Ν̅ΌΜΩΚ̅Υ̅ Τ̀Ὸ Ε̅Σ̅ΑΛΗΜΑ Α̅Υ̅Τ̀Ὺ
ΚᾺΙ Ε̅Ν̅ Τ̅Ω̅Ν̅ Ν̅ΌΜΩ Α̅Υ̅Τ̀ῸῪ ΜΕΛΕΤΉΣ̅Ε̅
Η̅ΜΈΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ Ν̅ΥΚ̅Τ̀ῸΣ̅
ΚᾺΙ Ε̅Σ̅ΤΑΙ ῺΣ̅ Τ̀Ὸ Ξ̅ΎΛΟΝ Τ̀Ὸ Π̅Ε̅Φ̅Υ̅ΤΕΥ
ΜΕΝΟΝ Π̅ΑΡᾺ Τ̀ᾺΣ̅ Α̅Ι̅Ε̅Ξ̅ΌΔΟΥΣ
Τ̀ῺΝ̅ Υ̅ΔΑΤΩΝ
Ὸ Τ̀ῸΝ̅ ΚΑ̅Ρ̅Π̀ῸΝ̅ Α̅Υ̅Τ̀ῸῪ Δ̀ΏΣ̅Ε̅Ι Ε̅Ν̅ ΚΑΙ
Ρ̅Ω̃ Α̅Υ̅Τ̀ῸῪ
ΚᾺΙ Τ̀Ὸ Φ̅Υ̅ΛΛΟΝ Α̅Υ̅Τ̀ῸῪ ῸῪΚ̅ Α̅Π̅ΟΡΡΥ
ΉΣ̅Ε̅ΤΑΙ
ΚᾺΙ Π̅Α̅Ν̅Τ̀Ὰ ῸΣ̅Α̅ Α̅Ν̅ Π̅ΟΙΗ̃ ΚΑΤΕΥΟΔΩ
ΘΉΣ̅Ε̅ΤΑΙ
ῸῪΧ̀ΌῪΤ̀ῺΣ̅ ῸΙ̅Ὰ Σ̅Ε̅ΒΕΙ̃Σ̅ ῸῪΧ̀ῸῪΤ̀ῺΣ̅
ᾺΛΛ̀Ὰ Η̃ ῺΣ̅ ῸΧ̀Ν̀ΌῪΣ̅ Ὸ Ν̅Ε̅ΚΡΙΠΤΕΙ ῸΔ̀ΉΝ̅Ε̅
ΜΟΣ ᾺΠ̀Ὸ Π̅ΡΟΣ̅ΏΠΟΥ Τ̀Η̃Σ̅ Γ̅Η̃Σ̅
ΔΙΑ Τ̀ῸῪΤ̀Ο ῸῪΚ̅ Α̅Ν̅ΑΣΤΉΣ̅ῸΝ̅ΤΑΙ ῸΙ̅Ὰ
Σ̅Ε̅ΒΕΙ̃Σ̅ Ε̅Ν̅ Κ̅Ρ̅ΊΣ̅Ε̅Ι
ῸῪΔ̀Ὲ Α̅Μ̅Α̅Ρ̅Τ̀ῺΛ̀ῸῚ Ε̅Ν̅ Β̅ῸῪΛ̀Η̃ Δ̀Ι̅Κ̅ΆΙ̅ῺΝ̅
ῸΤ̀Ι Γ̅Ε̅Ι̅Ν̀ῺΣ̅Κ̅Ε̅Ι Κ̅Ύ̅Σ̅ Δ̀ῸΝ̅ Δ̀Ι̅Κ̅ᾺΙ̅ῺΝ̅
Κ̀ᾺῚ ῸΔ̀Ὸ̀Σ̅ Α̅Σ̅Ε̅Β̅Ω̃Ν̅ ᾺΠ̀ῸΛ̀Ε̅Ι͂̀Τ̀ᾺΙ
Β̅ Ἵ̀Ν̅Ὰ Τ̀Ί̅ Ε̅Φ̅Ρ̅Υ̅ᾺΞ̅ᾺΝ̅ Ε̅Θ̅Ν̅Ὴ Κ̀ᾺῚ Λ̀ᾺῸῚ Ε̅Μ̅Ε̅
Λ̀Ε̅Τ̀Η̃Σ̅Α̅Ν̅ Κ̅Ε̅Ν̀Ὰ
Π̅Α̅Ρ̅ΈΣ̅Τ̀Η̃Σ̅Α̅Ν̅ ῸἹ Β̅Α̅Σ̅Ι̅Λ̀Ε̅Ι͂̀Σ̅ Τ̀Η̃Σ̅ Γ̅Η̃Σ̅
Κ̀ᾺῚ Ο̃Ι̅ ᾺΡ̅Χ̀ῸΝ̅Τ̀Ε̅Σ̅ Σ̅Υ̅Ν̅Η̃Χ̀Θ̅Η̃Σ̅Α̅Ν̅ Ε̅Π̅Ὶ
Τ̀Ὸ̀ ᾺῪΤ̀Ὸ̀
Κ̅Α̅Τ̀Ὰ Τ̀ῸῪ Κ̅Υ̅ Κ̀ᾺῚ Κ̅Α̅Τ̀Ὰ Τ̀ῸῪ Χ̅Ρ̅Υ̅ ᾺῪΤ̀ῸῪ
Δ̀Ι̅ᾺΨ̀ᾺΛ̀Μ̀Ὰ
Δ̀Ι̅Α̅Ρ̅Ρ̅ΉΞ̅ῺΜ̀Ε̅Ν̀ Τ̀ῸῪΣ̅ Δ̀Ε̅Σ̅Μ̀Ὸ̀ῪΣ̅ ᾺῪΤ̀Ω̃Ν̅
Κ̀ᾺῚ ᾺΠ̀ῸΡ̅Ρ̅ῸΙ̅Ψ̀ῺΜ̀Ε̅Ν̀Ὰ ᾺΦ̀ Η̃Μ̃Ω̃Ν̅ Τ̀ῸΝ̅
Ζ̅Υ̅ῚῸ̀Ν̅ ᾺῪΤ̀Ω̃Ν̅

up among them. But after long dwelling in a strange land, not near each other as once in Goshen, but scattered over the country and mingled with Babylonians, Medes and Persians, they had forgotten the speech of their fathers. For some time a sort of extemporaneous oral interpretation followed the public reading of the Hebrew, but there was no recognised written version, worthy to be depended on, and accessible to every one at all times. Chaldee had now become the mother-tongue of almost every living Jew in Palestine, and eastward to the Tigris. For their benefit, therefore, translations, or *Targums* תרגומין, were in due time prepared.

From the absence of certain information as to names and dates, we might infer that written translations came but slowly into use. This is probable, but it is also nearly certain that, about the time when our Lord Jesus Christ came into the world, the Targums of Onkelos on the Law, and of Jonathan in the Prophets were statedly read. Any one who reads Hebrew may arrive at a fair estimate of the comparative compactness of the original and paraphrastic expansion of the version. Take as an example the Targum of the first Psalm, and place it in parallel column with the original, in type of equal size. A reader of Chaldee will also observe the spirit of the paraphrase, noting, however, that this version of the Psalm is from a later hand. For the English reader must be provided an English translation of the Chaldee, and the familiar authorised version of the Psalm will be present in his mind for comparison with its oriental paraphrase.

אשרי האיש אשר לא הלך	טוביה דגבר דלא הליך במלכת
בעצת רשעים ובדרך חטאים לא	רשיעין ובאורחת חיבין לא קם
עמד ובמושב לצים לא ישב :	ובסיעת ממקני לא אסתחר : אלהן

כי אם בתורת יהוה חפצו ובתורתו
יהגה יומם ולילה : והיה כעץ
שתול על־פלגי מים אשר פריו
יתן בעתו ועלהו לא־יבול וכל
אשר־־יעשה יצליח : לא־־כן
הרשעים כי אם־כמץ אשר־תדפנו
רוח : על־כן לא־יקמו רשעים
במשפט וחטאים בעדת צדיקים :
כי יודע יהוה דרך צדיקים ודרך
רשעים תאבד :

בנימוסא דיי רעותיה ובאוריתיה
מרנן ימם ולילי : ויהי כאילן חיי
דנציב על טופי מוי די אנביה
מכשל בעדניה ואטרפוי לא נתרין
וכל לבלבוי דמלבלב מגרגר
ומצלח : לא מטול היכנא רשיעי
אלהן כמוזא די תשקפניה עלעולא:
מטול היכנא לא יזכון רשיעי
ביומא רבא וחיבין בסיעת צדיקיא:
מטול דגלי קדם יי אורח צדיקיא
ואורחתהון דרשיעי תהובד :

"Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the wicked, and standeth not in the way of sinners, and doth not frequent the society of mockers. But his delight is in the law (נימוסא=νομος) of the LORD, and in His Law (תורתו=אוריתיה) doth he rejoice day and night. And he shall be like a tree of life that is planted by streams of water, and beareth fruit ripe in its season, and its leaves do not wither, and every bud that it putteth forth is vigorous and flourisheth. It is not so with the wicked, but they are like chaff which a gust of wind will drive away. Even so the wicked will not be acquitted in the great day, nor sinners that are in the congregation of the just. For the way of the just is clear before the Lord, but as for the wicked, their way shall perish."*

Coincident with the introduction of Christianity into the

* The Targums now extant are:—

I. Targum on the Pentateuch, known as that of Onkelos.

II. Targum on the Former and Latter Prophets, known as that of Jonathan ben Uzziel.

III. Targum on the Pentateuch, likewise known as that of Jonathan ben Uzziel.

IV. Targum on portions of the Pentateuch, known as the Jerusalem Targum.

world, and the publication of the Gospels in Greek, the chief language of the West, was the interpretation of nearly the whole of the Old Testament for the edification of the Jews. Not regarding this as a merely casual coincidence, but viewing it altogether as a concurrence ordered in the course of God's wise providence, we perceive that these works give evidence of the direct use of Old Testament scripture as finally sealed with that authoritative conclusion which we just now noticed, and of its delivery to the Gentile world for the use of the universal church.

The Samaritan Version.

The Samaritans, too, while unwilling to accept with equal recognition the later portions of the Old Testament, could not be content to let their children grow up in ignorance of the Books of Moses which they might read mechanically but could not understand. They therefore had a Targum of their own, known as the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, and, for aught that is known to the contrary, of equal antiquity with the Chaldee Targum of Onkelos. It was written in a dialect far removed from

---

V. Targums on the Hagiographa, ascribed to Joseph the Blind, namely:—

1. On the Psalms and Proverbs.
2. On the Five Rolls, מגילות, (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Ecclesiastes).
3. Two (not three, as commonly stated) other Targums to Esther, a smaller and a larger, the latter known as Targum *the second*, שני.

VI. Targum to Chronicles.

VII. Targum to Daniel, known from an unpublished Persian extract, not hitherto received among the number.

VIII. Targum on the Apocryphal pieces of Esther.

Emanuel Deutsch.

the Hebrew, and its abounding barbarisms indicate the mixed character of the population worshipping in Samaria in the time of our Lord. It is printed in Walton's Polyglot Bible, with a Latin translation.

The Hebrew Text.

The original Hebrew Bible was preserved with sacred care in every Synagogue, and the little children of every family were taught to read it, with the expectation that in due time they would comprehend its meaning. People of East and West were thus taken to witness that those ancient Scriptures were the acknowledged word of God; and Jews, authors of those two sets of versions, the Greek and the Chaldee, not knowing all the value of the work they did, were not only custodians of the Hebrew Bible for us, but by their own translations kept a check upon themselves, should they ever think to tamper with the text.

But faithful teachers of the people can never be content with translations only. When we read the Targum of Onkelos on the first chapter of Genesis we acknowledge the good intention of the translator who, with all his desire to be true to the letter, betrays a disposition to gloss, even where glossing was least requisite. When we read the beautiful rendering of the first Psalm in the Targum above quoted, we admire the clear perception and vivid style of the wise man who made it, but begin to fear that, tempted by success in his line, he will become so thorough a paraphrast as to publish his own imaginations rather than the mind of the Spirit. Very soon the fear is realised, and long columns of wandering paraphrase and fable choke up intermittent sentences of text.

The insufficiency of paraphrase thus became evident, and the Author of inspiration provided means for preventing the corruption of His word. Our Lord, throughout all His ministrations, rebuked the Pharisees for making the Law of God of none effect by the traditions of men, and declared that the letter of that Law never should be changed. To the letter itself he referred all inquirers after instruction, and simply asked the disputer, What is *written* in the Law, how *readest* thou? Already were the fathers of the future Karaites declaring their dissent from the traditionists whom Christ condemned, and refusing to hear of any other standard of belief than the written word of God. So gradually did this correct principle gain ground that the time when Karaism began cannot be nearly ascertained, but its advocates eventually became a recognised sect among the Jews. They still exist. They have their own Rabbies, Synagogues and peculiar observances, with a distinct Liturgy, but the same Bible. To them, under a guiding Providence, the world is in great part indebted that it is really the same Bible. This fact, in the literary history of the sacred volume, was not generally known until within the last few years.

Hebrew Vowel-pointing.

THERE are no true vowels in the Hebrew alphabet, and in practice, where the writer wishes to indicate the exact pronunciation of a word without having recourse to the points, there are only two that will serve him; ו for *o*, but even that may be taken for *u*, and י for *i*, pronounced *ee*. This, of course, every tyro knows. But a thorough Hebrew reader, perceiving the construction and drift of a sentence, can at once supply the right vowel-sound without any further effort than a stenographer uses to read his notes, written for the most part in consonants.

Anciently Hebrew was written only with the letters of the actual Alphabet, and so it is now written in the Synagogue-rolls, but the vowels and accents are supplied in private manuscripts and printed books. The reason for using them is to guard against departure from what is believed to be the true meaning of the text, inasmuch as a Hebrew word may be varied by the changing of vowels to an extent almost incredible to the untaught.

The question who invented vowel-points was long debated on conjecture, without any sufficient evidence to determine, but within the last forty years a few persevering Karaite Jews have collected manuscripts from settlements of their brethren in the East containing much incidental information on this important subject, the substance of which can soon be stated.

So early as the year 400 one Rabbi Asi wrote *the Great Book of Pointing* ספר הנקוד הגדול.* Pointing, then, was named as an established practice, and a book, or treatise, was written on it, apparently for the use of scribes, only 370 years after our Lord's ministry in Palestine. From all that is found on record concerning manuscripts of earlier times, or can be inferred therefrom, there were only one or two diacritic points, as much as was then requisite,—as much as was generally thought necessary in Arabic writing before the Koran, or now in Syriac. But Rabbi Asi wrote for the instruction of persons professionally called *pointers*, נקודים, of whom distinct mention is made in the Karaite manuscripts. This recalls the saying of Christ that not one *iota*, or *yod*, nor one *keraia*, or stroke, would pass away from the Law until every word should be

* Moses Botarel's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kabbala*, Leipzig, 1852. Bd. II., S. 17.

fulfilled. This understanding of the words precisely agrees with what the Syrian translator of the Gospels in the first century must have meant when he rendered the Greek by ܚܕ ܝܘܕ ܐܘ ܚܕ ܩܪܢ, *one yod or one stroke.*

After Asi there is mention of Rabbi Akhá in the first half of the sixth century. This Rabbi went far beyond his predecessors, and completed a system of vowel-pointing called the Assyrian, or Babylonian.* Akhá was a Karaite, and laboured in fixing, or rather *preserving* the exact pronunciation of the Hebrew text, while the traditionists, for their part, were working hard in completing the system of traditions which was soon after embodied in the Talmud. Both Karaites and Talmudists lived in Babylonia, then sometimes called Assyria. They tried to explain the text of Holy Scripture, each party in a different way; those by traditionary decisions, these by plain interpretation of the written letter. The traditionist endeavoured to *explain* the text. The Karaite made it his business to *fix* it. He desired so to fix it that words might not be twisted at pleasure, when, for lack of vowels, the orthography might be determined by conjecture, or arbitrarily changed. A fac-simile of a few verses in a Karaite manuscript of the minor prophets,† written A.D. 910, exhibits the vowel-points as they were written by R. Akhá and his brethren, but in course of time were discontinued, and until the discovery of the Manuscripts, now treasured at Odessa and St. Petersburg, lay unknown, except to a very few Jews in Central or Northern Asia.

---

* This subject is treated fully by S. Pinsker, in his *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebraische Punktationssystem*, Wien. 1863. See also Dr. Rule's *History of the Karaite Jews*, London, 1870, chapter x.

† Karaite MSS., Pinner 3. Malachi iii. 22—24.

Another tracing from a Hebrew manuscript of singular beauty* exhibits the same passage vocalised according to the system adopted at Tiberias in Palestine about half a century later, and made conspicuously distinct from the former by the points being set under the lines instead of over, Kholem excepted. The latter system being confessedly the more perfect, the Karaites were generally satisfied with it, and, as we read in the Book of Chozri,† said that "since they found the Law perfect," that is to say, written perfectly, they were quite content. Whatever might be said of decisions of wise men as to the meaning of the text, the text as there written plainly, with vowels and accents too, expressed its own sense, and in that state might be safely trusted to the understanding of intelligent and honest readers.

The Masórah.

Reverence for the sacred Books found yet further means for preserving them from corruption. It was quite possible that the true pronunciation, and exact grammatical meaning of the words might be preserved by the addition of vowels, accents, and stops. Yet it did not certainly follow that interpolations might not be made, or sentences cut out. This might be done designedly, or happen by accident. Inevitable accidents of transcription would occur, and ought to be at once detected. An elaborate Register was therefore constructed of the number of *Sedarim*, or larger sections, *Pesukim*, or smaller, of words and even of letters in each book, and in the entire Hebrew Bible—a complete apparatus of checks and counterchecks. Such is the

* Harleian, Num. 5,710.

† Sepher Chozri, Pars III., capp. 25—34.

FIG. 23.

ASSYRIAN OR BABYLONIAN VOWEL-POINTS.

עֵדְוֹתַי וְחֻקָּתַי
מִשְׁחוּ עֲבָדָיו אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָ
אֹתָם בְּחֹרֵב עַל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים
חֲמָת אַגְבָּו שִׁלְחוּ לְכֹל אֶת
אֱלֹהִים הַנְּבִיא לְפָנָיו בּוֹאוּ
יָם יְהוּדָה הַגְּרוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא
וְהַשּׁוֹבֵב לָבָב אֲבוֹת עַל
בָּנִים וְלֵב בָּנִים עַל אֲבוֹתָם
פֹּה אַכּוֹ אוּחֲכִיתִי אֶת
הָאָרֶץ חֵרֶם

Fig. 24.

THE LATER VOWEL-POINTS.

זִכְרוּ תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה
עַבְדִּי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֹתוֹ בְּחֹרֵב
עַל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים׃
הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי שֹׁלֵחַ לָכֶם אֵת אֵלִיָּה
הַנָּבִיא לִפְנֵי בּוֹא יוֹם יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל
וְהַנּוֹרָא׃ וְהֵשִׁיב לֵב אָבוֹת עַל
בָּנִים וְלֵב בָּנִים עַל אֲבוֹתָם פֶּן־
אָבוֹא וְהִכֵּיתִי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ חֵרֶם׃

הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי שֹׁלֵחַ לָכֶם
אֵת אֵלִיָּה הַנָּבִיא וְגוֹ׳
יִתְקָא כ״ן

general idea of this expedient, but it is so minutely careful, and has so many peculiarities that it is not possible to convey a correct description in anything less than a treatise of considerable length, such as only Jews would wish to read, and even few of them. The Masoretic summary at the end of the Prophet Isaiah is shown in a note below.*

There must have been one manuscript accepted as the standard by the wise men of Tiberias, which they did not presume to alter, or in the least thing to correct, but left just as they found it, without changing a letter, not even to correct the most palpable mistake. They noted every inaccuracy of the kind in the margin, but left it untouched in the body of the page, and so it remains in every Masoretic edition of the Bible. A word might be wrongly written, a letter too large, or too small, or turned upside down, or set in the line too high or too low, but the standard, the sealed book as one might call it,

---

* והיה מדי חדש

סכום הפסוקים של ישעיה אלף ומאתים ותשעים וחמשה ׃ ברית

ניחח אר֫צָה אתכם סימן ׃ וחציו ׃ כי אם שם אדיר יי֫ לנו ׃

וסדריו כ֫ ׃ והי֫ה יי֫ למלך על כל הארץ סימן ׃

חזק ונתחזק

"And it shall be from the substance of a month. The number of the Pesukim of Isaiah is one thousand two hundred and ninety-five, being the numerical value of the letter in the sign-word אר֫צָה, written large, in the sentence, A covenant shall rest upon the land with you. The middle of the book is at the words, But there the glory of the Lord will be unto us (Chap. xxxiii. 21). The number of the *Sedarim* is 26, in the word והי֫ה written large, that being the numerical value of the letters. It occurs in the sign-sentence, And the Lord shall be King over all the earth."

The two last words, "Courage! Be of good courage," are no part of the Masorah, but such as are usually placed at the end of each book, to encourage the reader to persevere in study.

was not to be altered. The errors, even, were to be left untouched, in reverence, like the oddities of some aged grandsire, which the loving household do not presume to interfere with. Other copies had some approved readings, but the one most venerable manuscript must be preserved intact, and these were admitted into the margin of their own copy by the Masorites, but no further. The manifold contents of the margins are called MASÓRAH, which means *Instruction.* There it stands from age to age, forbidding the slightest innovation. The reckless may despise this check; the thoughtless may smile, but the reflective student ponders, and admires the wisdom of Him who permitted or employed the most stubborn rejectors of Christianity to do more than any Christian ever did or could have done for preserving intact the most ancient records of primitive revealed religion, the collected evidence of prophecy that Christ is God, to Whom are due divine honours and universal trust.

Registered with the Masorah the Book has gone forth into the world secure against mutilation, change or loss; and superstition, if they will have it so, makes herself an unconscious curatrix of the truth she never knew.

This is what the Masorites did, and it is enough. They were not scientific linguists. They do not seem to have known how to trace the vestiges of half lost or foreign languages in the Pentateuch, or Job, or Daniel. They would have wondered at the learned Lexicons of our modern scholars, and would perhaps condemn them as heathenish; but in doing what they knew how to do, they fulfilled their vocation, and we are thankful. Critics often step over the Masorah as an impediment in their way; but after collating heaps of manuscripts and bringing the old versions, Greek, Samaritan and Chaldee, wherewith to test

the "Hebrew verity," as we may once more call it, they find the inspired sentences repeated in unchanged integrity, fixed immutably like the imperishable sharp-cut cuneiform on the portals of Khorsabad.

As for the Jews, they have lost their high-priests, their Temple and their kings. They weep under the walls of Jerusalem, but they have held fast their Bible, to use it more effectually when the vail shall be taken away that is on their heart. They keep in view the imperishable oracles of God. Great is their advantage.* May God bless them quickly!

---

* They hold fast their Bible, and while there is no dearth of manuscript copies of the Old Testament, and although there is not any archetype, the Masorah stands well instead. It is remarkable that "there is no manuscript of the Talmud to control the printed editions." So says a Jew of extensive erudition and inveterate unbelief. (RENAN, *Apôtres*, p. 262n.) Besides this, the printed editions of the Talmud vary. The Inquisition has excised many passages, and editors themselves have treated their work differently, but the Masoretic Hebrew Bible has not been so dealt with by Jew or Gentile.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

UNITY OF GOSPEL HISTORY.

DISCOURSE on the literature or exposition of the Gospels and other Scriptures would be out of place here. These topics are treated elsewhere. But we should observe that the Four Gospels, taken altogether, contain a sufficiently full biography of our Saviour. Taken altogether, we say, because the Evangelists are independent witnesses of Him whose history they write, yet not one of them relates *all* that is proper to be told. Apart from the common subject they are so distinct that sometimes they seem to disagree, yet taken collectively their narrative is one and complete. Early in Christian history we find a demonstration at once of their diversity and unity. Each of the Four Books was divided into sentences, paragraphs, or entire sections of length, varying according to the matter and sense. These sentences regarded separately,—thrown asunder, so to speak,—and then reassorted with little or no regard to their original position, took the form of a continuous or harmonic narrative and received the name of *Harmony*. The repetition of the same statement, twice, thrice, or even four times, did not disturb the sequence, but presented in such portions of the narrative a verbal concurrence of just so many witnesses, each one independent of the others.

However various the style and treatment of the writers, their object is entirely one. They were disciples of that Divine Master towards whom every eye is turned.

FIG. 25.

JERUSALEM.

(FROM THE NORTH-EAST.)

J. CORBET ANDERSON DEL

D. MARTIN. SC

The Acts of the Apostles are appended to the fourfold Gospel, just as the books of Joshua and the Judges are appended to the five books of Moses, but neither is the one appendix nor the other incorporated with the history it supplements. As Moses, the servant of God, had a mission of his own, and the history he wrote was single, first and chief, so the Lord Jesus Christ, Lord over the House of God, had no peer in this world. No disciple could share in the mystery of His humiliation, nor aspire to partake in His incommunicable glory. The Books of the Gospel, therefore, in the New Testament, like the Books of the Law in the Old, have a dignity single and supreme.

The remaining portions of the New Testament, like the prophetic and didactic portions of the Old, are expository of what precedes, and are otherwise subordinate thereto—subordinate, that is to say, in relative position, but of an authority in no degree inferior, while the entire body of New Testament Scripture is a perfect elucidation of the Law, and a triumphant confirmation of the Prophets.

Canonical Books.

The canon of the Old Testament was formed very gradually; completed and sanctioned after long waiting. The canon of the New was quickly formed, and much sooner accepted. Within half a century, or little more, it was all written by holy men who knew the Lord Jesus Christ when He was visibly present in the world. Even Saul the Pharisee must have seen Him often in Jerusalem. The Gospels, as containing the personal history of the Saviour, never were disputed, nor could they be confounded with apocryphal writings, manifestly spurious.

The Acts of the Apostles, written by St. Luke, the

Apostolic Epistles and the Book of Revelation were nearly all received as authoritative at their first appearance, because of the acknowledged Apostolic office of the writers. It is true that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not universally received at first, nor the Second Epistle of St. Peter, nor the Second and Third Epistles of St. John. Neither was the Apocalypse, but that was written very late, nearly at the end of the first century. But all these writings were acknowledged as soon as they had been read and examined, and their authenticity and inspiration recognised by Christians in general, as is clearly demonstrated by writers on the Canon.* This Canon became itself the very standard of authenticity, and so early as Origen it was enough to call a book ἐνδιάθηκος, *in the Testament*, to affirm that it was worthy of unquestioning acceptance.

The Clementine Epistles.

Some Apocryphal writings did, for a time, command a certain reverence, partly on account of some intrinsic merit they might possess, although their merit is very unequal, but, perhaps, chiefly because of the writers' names, or names of the eminent persons to whom some of them were falsely attributed. But there is a demarcation so strong between inspired Scripture and the very best of uninspired compositions, that the two classes cannot be permanently confounded. Two epistles, for example, justly or unjustly attributed to Clement the Roman, the holy man of whom St. Paul said that his name was written in heaven, were for a few centuries added by scribes to the Canonical

* Among the writers on the Canon of the New Testament, the name of Brooke Foss Westcott is deservedly pre-eminent.

FIG. 26.

CLEMENTINE EPISTLE.

FROM THE ALEXANDRIAN MS.

Καιπαλιναυτοςφησιν·εγωδεειμι
σκωληξ·καιουκανθρωποςονειδος
ανθρωπων·καιεξουοενιμαλλουπαν
τεςοιθεωρουντεςμεεξεμυκτη
ρισανμεελαλησανενχειλεσιν
εκεινησανκεφαλην·ηλπισεν
επικυριωσασωσαυτον·σωσατω
αυτονοτιθελειαυτον·
Ορατεαναρεσαγαπητοι·τισουπο
γραμμοσολελομενοσημιν·ειμαρ
οικοσουτωσετατπεινοφρονησεν
τιποιησωμενημεισοιυποτον
ζυγονταησχαριτοσαυτουλιαυτου
ελθοντος·μιμηταιγενωμεθα
καικεινωνοιτινεσενδερμασιν
αιγειοις·καιμηλωταισπεριεπατη
σανκηρυσσοντεστηνελευσιν
τουχυ·λεγομενδεηλιαν·καιελι
σαιε·ετιδεκαιεζεκιηλ·τουσπρο
φητας·προστουτοις·καιτουσεμαρ
τυρημενουσ·εμαρτυρηθημεγα
λωσαβρααμ·καιφιλοσπροεηγορσγ
θητουου·καιλεγειατενιζωνεις
τηναοξαντουθυτατπεινοφρωνω
εγωδεειμιγηκαισποδος·

Scriptures of the New Testament; but while these gained and kept their proper place, although not always arranged in the same order, the Clementine Epistles, as the present writer believes, were never written in the body of the book, nor were they named in the middle of any of the catalogues, but placed only at the end, and eventually ceased to appear at all in the manuscripts. They could never be considered more than supplementary. They lack the inimitable impress of inspiration.

The Alexandrian Manuscript in the British Museum, like others of high antiquity, so contains them, and from that manuscript we append a few lines of the first Epistle in *facsimile*, first traced from a photograph, and then closely compared with the original and found perfect. It comprehends the portion beginning with the words και παλιν αυτος φησιν, and ending with εγω δε ειμι γη και σποδος. On this manuscript a note is desirable.*

---

* The first sight of Mr. Anderson's tracing disclosed a remarkable peculiarity. Laid side by side with the original no defect could be discovered; the accuracy of the tracing is unquestionable. We found that the same peculiarity prevailed throughout the manuscript. Where horizontal lines were written fine—*very* fine they were certainly written—they are utterly faded away, or perhaps in some cases, the parchment failed to receive the fine stroke from the edge of the reed. For example, Δ, by failure of the horizontal line, becomes Λ. From the same cause, Η changes into ΙΙ two *iota*, and Θ into Ο. There are no fewer than eleven such changes in the few lines now laid before the reader. We examined the original itself with a powerful lens, but it did not bring out the faintest shade of the lost strokes. We turned to other parts of the venerable manuscript, and found the same characteristic prevailing. The same optical aid was used, but if not always, generally without effect. Like "the deep-cut marble" of the poet, the parchment has given up its charge after the friction and the damps of fifteen centuries. In the same fourth volume of the manuscript as contains the Epistle of Clement, is the famous passage, 1 Tim. iii. 16. Some one found, or thought he found ΟC ΕΦΑΝΕΡΩΘΗ, and very culpably undertook to

Accuracy of Dates.

One feature of excellence in the historians of the New Testament is their carefulness to fix the dates. While the Evangelists were narrating the chief events in the personal history of our Lord, they took especial care to mark the time of their occurrence. For example:—

The vision of the priest Zacharias in the Temple was *in the days of Herod the king of Judæa.* The annunciation of the birth of Christ to the Virgin Mary was *six months later.* The birth of Mary's promised son *nine months later again*, being fifteen months after the vision of Zacharias, and still in the reign of the same king of Judæa. The birth of Christ is marked again yet more narrowly when an Evangelist tells us how Joseph and Mary were at Bethlehem in pursuance of a decree of Cæsar Augustus *at the time when an enrolment*, or census of the whole empire was made *in preparation for the taxing which took effect when Cyrenius (Quirinus) was Governor of Syria.* Those "days of the taxing" are made more memorable by *the affair of Judas of Galilee which then took place.* The birth-place of Christ is named as well as the time of his birth, which was at *Bethlehem*, as predicted by the prophet,

---

replace—as he believed—two faded strokes in one word, in order to make ΟC into ΘC, or $\overline{\Theta C}$, so changing "*who*" into "God." But the later hand was very clumsy. It is done with thin modern ink of gall and vinegar, blue-black and blotched, and spoils the parchment. That clumsy manipulation, therefore, does nothing more than destroy the evidence which the parchment might have otherwise afforded, and the weight of this witness, be it what it might, is altogether lost. The Sinaitic Codex has ΟC, unless the fine strokes are faded there too, but in the Vatican Codex the reading appears to be ΘC, θεος.

in the reign of Augustus,* the very year being made easily ascertainable by the preceding notes.

At this commencement of the Evangelic narrative, Christian chronologists having found a starting-point for fixing the date of every subsequent event, the editors of the English Bible, guided by the dates of events in Roman and general history, as they are noted independently, according to the eras of the several histories, assign the Birth of Christ to "the fifth year before the account called *Anno Domini*."

The preaching of John the Baptist in the wilderness of Judæa began *in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being Governor of Judæa, and Herod being Tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip Tetrarch of Iturea, and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the Tetrarch of Abylene, Annas and Caiaphas being the High Priests* (Luke iii. 1—3). The Baptisms of John were taking place *when Jesus began to be about thirty years of age.*

Any student who knows how to work may also get the books, lay down a series of established dates in Roman history, already indicated by years of Consuls, quite independently of the New Testament, and thereupon construct a chronological table for himself, self-correcting and full of data for further calculations.

Then for the Crucifixion at Jerusalem. It was *immediately after a feast of Passover. In that year Pontius Pilate was the Governor of Judæa, and Herod of Galilee, Herod being in Jerusalem at the time.* There needs not be any mistake

---

* The reader has before him a portrait of Augustus Cæsar, in autotype, from a marble bust in the British Museum. It is not given as a biblical monument, but as representing an interesting relic of the Emperor. Seen side by side with the page of Suetonius, where the head and features of Augustus are minutely described, the agreement is found to be exact.

as to the year, for *on the occasion of the trial of Jesus, Pilate and Herod were made friends* after long variance. There had lately been *a sedition in the province, and a chief rebel, Barabbas, then in prison, was released, but another of the rebels,—if not two,—was crucified at the same time with Christ. Caiaphas*, not Annas, *was High Priest that same year* (John xviii. 13, 14, 24).

Thus is the chronology of the New Testament fixed and verified by the history of the Roman empire and its dependencies. It follows that the year of Redemption comes in the reign of Tiberius, and on this point Tacitus is found in harmony with the Evangelists. He speaks of people *whom they commonly called Christians* (quos vulgus Christianos appellabat). He mentions *the author of that name, Christ, who suffered the penalty of death by the Procurator, Pontius Pilate, when Tiberius was Emperor.* Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperitante, supplicio affectus erat. He also tells of the atrocious prosecution of Nero, who put to death many of the same people.*

Harmony of the Evangelists.

The Diatessaron of Tatian in the second century, being a kind of harmony of the Four Gospels, indicated the persuasion of men, living within memory of the Apostles, that they were to be received as one body of narrative and instruction.† That view of them has continued ever since.

---

* Taciti Annal. xv. 44.

† Euseb. H. E. iv. 29. Epiphan. Hæres. xlvi. 1. Theodoret. Fab. I. 20. Perhaps all that can be collected from the Fathers of East and West concerning Tatian is to be found in an exhaustive dissertation under the following title: "Tatiani Diatessaron. Antiquissimi N. T. Evangeliorum in unum digestorum specimen. Scripsit Carolus Ænotheus Semisch. Vratislaviæ. 1856."

FIG. 27.

BETHLEHEM.

J. CORBET ANDERSON DEL.
D. MARTIN SC.

Fig. 28.

AUGUSTUS.

FIG. 29.

TIBERIUS.

FIG. 30.

KEDRON.

The attempt of Tatian is lost. It may not have been of great value in itself, but it led the way for more perfect works.

Ammonius of Alexandria, about a century later (A. D. 270 *c.*), examined the Gospels with minute attention, dividing each of them into larger or smaller sentences, according to the matter it contains. If his original work remained unchanged, we should say that he divided the Gospel according to St. Matthew into 355 sections; St. Mark into 235; St. Luke into 343; St. John into 232. Eusebius of Cæsarea in the fourth century threw together all the 1,165 sections, compared the contents of them all, and classified them into ten lists, or *canons*, which are called after him the Eusebian Canons. The *first canon* contains the sections that are found, substantially if not literally, in all the Four Evangelists. The *second*, those in Matthew, Mark and Luke. The *third*, those in Matthew, Luke and John. The *fourth*, those in Matthew, Mark and John. The *fifth*, those in Matthew and Luke. The *sixth*, those in Matthew and Mark. The *seventh*, those in Matthew and John. The *eighth*, those in Mark and Luke. The *ninth*, those in Luke and John. The *tenth*, is divided into four parts, each containing the sections which occur but once in Matthew, or Mark, or Luke, or John.

But while this account is taken directly from later manuscripts, and represents the final arrangement of the tables, or canons, as we find it in the early printed Bibles, having the tables at the end of the book, and the canons written in the margins, it is evident that the original work of Ammonius had not such minute divisions. To quote the industrious Girólamo Tiraboschi, "Victor, Bishop of Capua, who flourished about the year, 545, translated the

Gospel Harmony attributed to Ammonius from Greek into Latin. It is inscribed in the Library of the Fathers."*

A splendidly illuminated manuscript of the Bishop's translation is in the British Museum. Without attempting to ascribe a date to the MS. it suffices to describe its contents. *Præfatio Victoris epi Capuensis* states that after diligent enquiry the Bishop found that the person who arranged the evangelic reading of the acts and sayings of our Lord and Saviour was one Ammonius an Alexandrian, "who is also reported to be the inventor of the canons of the Gospel." The Gospel, be it noted, is the aggregate and sum of Gospels, no one of which is *the* Gospel: the Harmony, that in which the Evangelists all consent, although no one of them had written all.

The Basis of the Harmony, as read by Ammonius, is not the Book of the first Evangelist in our list, but the fourth—St. John, not St. Matthew. For this purpose the Gospel according to St. John is divided into 184 sections, not 232, as we have it now, an earlier division, perhaps made without the searching verbal collation which became necessary before Eusebius could reduce the entire aggregate of sections into the ten tables which were eventually constructed.

Ammonius includes the 184 sections, or *capitula*, in a distinct argument, which altogether covers two or three folios, on both sides, after Victor's Preface.

There is no other numeration of sections in the volume, but the Johannine text is taken for the basis of the harmony, which commences with St. Luke's prologue, *Forasmuch as, etc.*, with LUC. after it. Then comes the sublime preface of St. John, *In the beginning, etc*, until the end of the

* Storia della Letteratura Italiana. Tom. III. p. 32.

harmony, and without any other divisions, the portions of the three synoptical books are severally marked at the close with a MAT., MAR., or LUC., or with two or three of them, as the case may be. The last sentence of the Evangelic History consists of the words of St. Mark, "And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following."*

Not only were the sections and canons made great use of for the purpose of harmonic reading, but the Gospels were very often written together in a separate volume. The Book was called a Gospel, and treated with special reverence. It was used for the administration of oaths, and read in the most solemn ceremonials.

Such a book is the magnificent volume once presented by King Athelstan, in the year 927, to the Church in Canterbury—then called Dover—and used in the coronation of the kings of England. After Jerome's Prefaces, and before the Tables of Canons, there is inserted the Declaration of a gift to the Church of Canterbury of some land in Folkstone, where there was once a Monastery and an Abbey for monks and nuns. The caligraphy is excellent. As usual, the book served for a Lectionary, the commencement of each lesson being marked by writing the first line in gold capitals fairly across the page. Each Ammonian section as it appears has the initial letter in gold capital. The first two pages of each Gospel are written entirely in gold, except that the Gospel according to St. John has three such pages, comprehending nearly thirty-two of our modern verses, from *In principio* to *quia vidi*.†

---

* Ammonii Harmonia Evangelistarum Latine. Mus. Brit. Jure emptionis, 21,060. Plut. cclxxxix. B. Additional Egerton MSS.

† Tiberius A. II.

In many ways "the Gospel," consisting of all the books of the Evangelists, has been distinctly honoured, because of its containing the personal history of the Saviour. Even now, in English congregations, the people stand up while the Gospel for the day is read, and on the announcement of that portion of the service they sing, *Glory be to Thee, O God.*

Abgar of Edessa.

St. Matthew testifies that the fame of Christ went throughout all Syria (Matt. iv. 24), and that this fame arose from His miracles of healing. Divided from Upper Syria by the Euphrates only, the little kingdom of Osrhoēne was eminently Syrian. Edessa, the metropolis, was noted for the great purity of the Syrian language spoken by its inhabitants, and although, geographically, the χώρα, or *region*, was in Mesopotamia, its relations with Syria were intimate; correspondence was active, and a rumour which could fill all Syria was sure to be heard in Osrhoēne. Hence it is that the sentence of St. Matthew now quoted, recalls to memory one of the most interesting passages in the history of the early Christian church. Moses of Chorēne, historian of Armenia, writing in the fifth century, furnishes a notice of the commencement of Christianity in Edessa.

The Emperor Tiberius having appointed Marinus to the government of Palestine, Syria, and the tributary provinces of Mesopotamia, Abgar, king of Edessa, sent two of his chief officers and a minister of confidence to explain to him, as representative of Tiberius, the reason of some of his proceedings in the East. After dispatching this business, the messengers visited Jerusalem, being attracted thither

by the report of our Lord's miracles, which they saw for themselves, and, on return to Edessa, related to their master. Abgar was at that time suffering from a disease caught during a heavy campaign in Persia, which no remedies would mitigate.*

Earlier than the Armenian, Eusebius of Cæsarea says in his Ecclesiastical History that Abgar, being sick of an incurable disease, wrote a letter to the Saviour, begging Him to come and heal him. Eusebius further says that the letter was to be found in the Archives of Edessa, and Moses of Chorēne, just now quoted, writing about a century later than Eusebius, says that Eusebius had preserved a copy of the same. We find it reproduced in Greek, but not, as would seem by the style, in very close translation, and reads as follows:—

"Abgar, Toparch of Edessa, to Jesus the Good Saviour, who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem, health. I have heard of Thee, and of the healings wrought by Thee, without drugs and herbs. For, as is reported, Thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk; and Thou cleansest the lepers, castest out unclean spirits and demons, healest those who are tormented with lingering diseases, and raisest the dead. Having heard all these things of Thee, I settled in my mind that either Thou art God, and hast come down from heaven to do these things, or that Thou who doest them art the Son of God. On this account, then, I have written to Thee that Thou wouldest deign to come to me, and heal the disease I suffer. And I hear, too, that the Jews speak evil of Thee, and are plotting to do Thee harm. But I have a city which is small, indeed, yet beautiful, and quite sufficient for us both."†

---

* *Histoire d'Armenie. Texte Armenien, et Traduction Française* par P. E. Vaillant de Florival. Tome Ire. Venise, 1841.

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* I. 13.

The letter was written in Syriac. The Greek version of Eusebius betrays a freedom which forbids a literal comment, but the Syriac copy of the letter, which is preserved in the Chronicon of Bar Hebræus, and is the only one known to the present writer, is more brief. It is said that our Lord wrote an answer, but the rescript has not the form of a letter, not even in Eusebius, and looks more like the report of a verbal reply to Abgar's messenger, Khananiah, than a written answer. Then the heading of the Greek section in Eusebius, *The things written in reply*, τὰ ἀντιγραφέντα, is no part of the original text of the historian. The Syriac in Bar Hebræus, on the other hand, has all the appearance of a literal copy of the original record, *But our Lord answered him* عذى بمى حنب لحه—Blessed is he who believeth in me, even though he doth not see me. And concerning that which thou writest that I come, this is right, that I accomplish here that for which I was sent, and then go up to Him that sent Me. Then I will at once send thee one of My disciples, that he may heal thy disease, and restore life to thee, and to them that are with thee." *

Authors in time past were not agreed concerning these writings, some regarding them as unworthy of credit, but others, and they very competent to judge, believing them to be authentic. The evidence of Moses the Chorēnian in the fifth century, and that of Eusebius of Cæsarea in the first quarter of the fourth, who produces copies in translation of the documents seen by himself in the Archives of Edessa ought to have been sufficient to satisfy any reasonable doubter. But we have now preponderating evidence. The late Dr. Cureton procured from the Nitrian monastery in Egypt a number of Syriac manuscripts of very high

* *Gregorii Abulpharagii sive Bar Hebræi Chronicon Syriacum.* Descripsit P. J. Bruns. Edidit G. G. Kirsch. Lips. 1789. Dynast. viii.

antiquity, which became the property of the British nation. Among them is a considerable portion of the original documents which Eusebius said he received from the Archives of Edessa, and certainly, for all that appears in published translations of them, they do not contain anything extravagant, at variance with acknowledged facts of history, or repugnant to the spirit of Holy Scripture. Dr. Cureton, Professor Wright, and other eminent scholars, have avowed that they see no reason to doubt their authenticity. The documents, as we find them in the earliest authorities, are so clear of the fabulous additions which had grown around the narrative in succeeding ages, that it would be waste of time to plead in their defence.

Syrians of high antiquity and reputation might be quoted at length, but we will be content to produce the judicious conclusions of Joseph Simon Asseman that even, if the authenticity of *these* documents could not be proved—a concession which he does not make—all must allow that Thaddeus, one of our Lord's disciples did preach in Edessa, and that Abgar did receive the Christian faith. Historic certainty of the well attested fact of Christianity established in Edessa from the earliest period of the Church, is itself a monument which no effort of scepticism can overturn.* Ephrem the Syrian, who spent most of his life in Edessa, and would not willingly rest the honour of his city on a doubtful legend, explicitly refers to the *message* of Christ to Abgar, and in his history of that prince exclaims, "Blessed city wherein we dwell! Edessa, mother of wise men! Thou who hast *heard*, who didst by His disciple receive a blessing *from the living mouth of the Son*."†

---

* *Bibliotheca Orientalis.* Tom III., Pars II., pp. viii., ix.

† Ibid. I. 141. An oral benediction, not a written letter.

The Curetonian manuscripts contain narratives of the establishment of Christianity in Edessa, strongly marked with the simplicity of truth. The manuscripts are fragmentary; some written in the fifth century, others in the sixth. The following few characteristic lines are worthy of perusal.*

"Abgar commanded them to give Addaeus (Thaddeus) silver and gold. Addaeus said to him: How can we receive that which is not ours? For lo! that which was ours we have forsaken, as we were commanded by our Lord to do; because without purses and without scrips, bearing the cross upon our shoulders, we were commanded to preach the Gospel in the whole creation."

"He related before Abgar the king, and before his princes and his nobles, and before Augustina, Abgar's mother, and before Shalmath, the daughter of Meherdath, Abgar's wife, the signs of our Lord, and His wonders, and the mighty works which He did, and His divine deeds, and His ascension to His Father; and how they had received power and authority at the same time that he was received up, by which same power it was that he (Thaddeus) had healed Abgar, and Abdu, son of Abdu, the second person of his kingdom, and how He informed them that He would reveal himself at the end of the ages, and at the consummation of all things. He told them also of the resuscitation and resurrection which is to come for all men, and the separation which will be made between the sheep and the goats, and between the faithful and those who believe not.

"Abgar the king said to him: According as I sent word to Christ in my letter to Him, and according as He also

* The translation is borrowed from Clarke's Ante-Nicene Library, with reference to additional MSS., Brit. Museum, numbers 14,654, fol. 33, and 14,664.

sent word to me, so have I received from thine own self this day, and so will I believe all the days of my life, and in the self-same things will I continue and make my boast. Because I know that there is no other power in whose name these signs and wonders are done, but only the power of Christ, whom thou preachest in verity and truth. And henceforth Him will I worship, I and my son Maanu, and Augustina, and Shalmath the Queen."

Here is precious fruit of our Lord's ministry—the effect of His fame throughout all Syria—the witnessing of Thaddeus, one of the seventy disciples, whom He instructed and sent forth at first to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and they went on their mission without purse or scrip, neither buying nor begging, and yet lacked nothing.

For a moment we digress. In the forty-ninth chapter of his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Gibbon indulges in a sarcastic disquisition on the religion of the primitive Christians, whom he endeavours to discredit by exhibiting what he is pleased to call "a superstructure of fable raised on the popular basis of a Syrian legend on the correspondence of Christ and Abgarus, so famous in the days of Eusebius, so reluctantly deserted by our modern advocates." He throws some further observations into foot-notes, flippantly scouting as "a herd of bigots" such men as Grabe, Cave and Tillemont, and professes himself ashamed to discover Mr. Addison, an English gentleman, among them. Asseman, whom he perforce designates "the learned," he is careful not to quote verbally, but roundly asserts that on pages 318, 420 and 554 of the first volume of his Bibliotheca Orientalis he does not give "any notice of the Syriac original or the archives of Edessa." Whoever will turn to those pages may find what Gibbon says he found not. Asseman not only

produces the Syriac text of a Bishop of Sarug, who refers at length to the correspondence of Abgar with our Lord, but he also produces the evidence of Ephrem the Syrian, and others, and mentions public acts of the Edessenes as undoubted confirmation. The Syriac original, it is true, is not quoted by Asseman, but it was translated from the archives by Eusebius, by Abulpharagius, where the present writer finds it, by Moses of Chorēne, and by others.

Further research in the partially explored treasury of Syriac literature will no doubt reveal much wealth of illustration as yet undiscovered, and enrich our store of genuine science in relation to the New Testament.

The Crucifixion.

So far as we know, no official register of the Crucifixion can be now produced, nor do the authentic and circumstantial narratives of the Evangelists require confirmation. The bitterest enemies of Christianity never ventured to deny the fact. Those enemies were the Jews, but they gloried in having had The Nazarene put to death, and cast on His disciples the reproach and scandal of the Cross. There must have been a register of that event. Pilate, the Roman Governor, being responsible for his official acts, was bound to render an account of them, and having sentenced to death, and seen the sentence executed on a pretender to the regal dignity, as they called our Lord; a dignity which could not be held in Judæa without explicit sanction of the Emperor, if not by his direct gift, and was actually so bestowed on Herod Agrippa,*—it is not conceivable that

* Herod *the King*, proudly distinguished from Herod the Tetrarch, from an Ethnarch, or any other ruler of less than kingly rank, who

he would have dared to withhold the due report. On the contrary, he would consider his zeal highly meritorious, and hasten to make the event known to his imperial master.

Justin, Philosopher and Martyr, wrote a long and eloquent apology about the year 139, addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and the Senate and people of Rome. It was written in Greek, and bore Justin's well known name. This defence of the religion of the Crucified was therefore public in the fullest acceptation of the word, and no man of common sense and honest reputation, even though not so eminent as Justin, would have appealed to Emperor, Senate, and People, on the credit of a document not known to any of them, and not anywhere to be found. But Justin says, *And that all these things took place you may learn from the Acts that were recorded in the time of Pontius Pilate.* *Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων.**

Nor was this only an appeal in behalf of Christianity; it was also an argument in proof of the prophetic verity, for he describes the crucifixion of Christ as an exact fulfilment of the words in the twenty-second Psalm, "They pierced my hands and my feet." And further on in the same apology, after reciting a prediction of Isaiah in relation to our Saviour's miracles, he again refers Antoninus to the evidence of the Roman Governor, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, of those public acts which the Governor could not have suppressed, even if he would:—*And that he did these things you may learn from the acts which were*

might preside over an inferior province, or hold a subordinate command. The title (see Acts xii. 1) was to be seen upon the coin and the seal of Herod, who was called Agrippa I. Such coins are now in the collections.

* Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 35.

recorded in the time of Pontius Pilate. Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἄκτων μαθεῖν δύνασθε.*

About the year 200, Tertullian, being a presbyter of the church at Carthage, and son of a Roman centurion, who served under the Proconsul in that city, addressed an apologetic discourse to the chiefs of the Roman Empire. Writing in his own style of bold and rough sincerity, the African presbyter follows the Evangelists. He recounts the substance of their narratives of our Lord's suffering, death and resurrection, and statement of His commanding the disciples to preach the Gospel to the world, and adds:— *Pilate, he himself being in his conscience a Christian, then reported to Tiberius Cæsar all these things concerning Christ. But even the Cæsars would have believed in Christ, either if the Cæsars were not wedded to the world, or if, being Christians, they could be also Cæsars.*†

The world was not chosen to be witness of the Saviour's resurrection. To the disciples only He revealed Himself during the forty days that intervened between the bursting of His tomb and the triumphal ascension into heaven. All this was seen by no more than a few chosen witnesses. It is true that no memorial marks the spot on earth last trodden by the King of kings, but we have a grander monument. The wondrous creation of the Christian church was the crowning evidence for perpetual confirmation of the latter chapters of gospel history, and the continued existence and actual extension of the living Church are an august monument that shall outlast the world.

---

* *Ut supra* 48.

† Tertulliani *Apologet. adv. Gentes:* cap. xxi.

Fall of Jerusalem.

Our Lord's prediction of the Fall of Jerusalem is related by St. Matthew (xxiv.), and no better account can be given of the fulfilment of the prediction than that of the Jew Flavius Josephus in the Sixth Book of his Antiquities. The overthrow and destruction of the city was utter, and the impression of that event continues in the history both of the Church and of the Synagogue.

There yet remains in Rome a conspicuous monument in memory of that catastrophe—the triumphal arch erected in honour of Titus Vespasian by the Roman Senate and people. It is the most ancient arch of the kind remaining in Rome, and has been described by many artists. We avail ourselves of the drawings and descriptions of Giampietro Bellori, Roman Antiquarian, who published the fruit of his studies nearly two centuries ago. Within the arch there are two grand panels. In the first, Titus is represented in his chariot with Victory holding a laurel-wreath over his head, while the Republic leads his horses. The procession is continued in the second panel. Here they carry aloft the golden table for the Shew-bread, with a cup for drink-offerings, trumpets for the solemn feasts, and the seven-branched Golden Lamp. A knight mounted on horseback, the horse having its usual trappings, has his robe fastened on his breast with golden clasps. Citizens (Quirites) clad in snowy white, crowned with laurel, and carrying laurel in their hands, walk before the imperial chariot in long procession.

"Præcedentia longè
Agminis officia, et niveos ad frœna quirites."

The pomp is continued in the frieze around the arch

above. There you might have discovered, until lately, a river-god resting on his bier, to represent the Jordan now brought, reluctant, within the borders of the Empire. Next follow Roman priests leading their victims to be sacrificed, the priests being distinguished by their attire.

This recalls the statement of a historian that, on the occasion here commemorated, the Emperors Vespasian and Titus earned a splendid triumph, when a fair city, Jerusalem, hitherto unknown to all mortals, entered into the Empire, and that the spectacle depicted on the arch was the three hundred and twentieth triumph counted from the founding of Rome to that time.

Here is a bull crowned with garlands, ready to be sacrificed to Jupiter, and covered with cloths painted for triumph. Soldiers crowned with laurel, wearing short tunics, and carrying circular shields. Soldiers, again, carry banners inscribed with names of conquered peoples, and of their chiefs. A *popa*, or servant who assists at sacrifices, leads oxen, and has an axe to kill them. He is naked down to the middle, and his legs are bare from knee to toe. Another *popa* carries a pitcher in his hand, and a dish full of fragrant spices to be burnt with the victims. Such dishes, they tell us, may be seen on the coins of Domitian. So magnificently did the Romans welcome into their gates the conquerors of Palestine; so faithfully has the fulfilment of the Saviour's last sorrowful denunciation been told by the mute marble.* The photograph now exhibits, not an artistic restoration of the monument and a classic description of the scene, as given by Antiquarian Bellori, but a picture of the inevitable

* Veteres Arcus Augustorum Triumphis insignes, ex Reliquis quæ Romæ adhuc supersunt cum Imaginibus triumphalibus restituti, antiquis nummis notisque Io. Petri Bellorii illustrati nunc primum per Io. Jacobum de Rubeis æneis typis vulgati. Romæ. MDCXC.

Fig. 31.

ARCH OF TITUS.

Photograph

FIG. 32.

ARCH OF TITUS.

DRAWN AND EXPLAINED BY BELLORI.

decay of earthly power and pride, while the consummation of promises co-eval with the foundation of the world, and the founding of the kingdom that shall have no end, date nearly alike from the event commemorated on the decaying monument of Roman triumph.

False Christs.

Among the calamities of the war between the Jews and Romans in Judea, was the plague of false christs and false prophets; as foretold in our Lord's prophecy of the fall of Jerusalem (Matt. xxiv. 23–26). We find frequent mention of such persons in the writings of Josephus. Gamaliel the Pharisee speaks of one Theudas, who before those days rose up, "boasting himself to be somebody; to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves; who was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered, and brought to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him; he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed" (Acts v. 36, 37). These were neither false prophets nor false christs, but rebels, who could not possibly have been referred to in the prediction of the Jewish war, but probably had already appeared and vanished from the scene, and are only mentioned here to guard us against confounding them with others through similarity of name.

More like a false christ was Simon the Sorcerer, who bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that he was some great one, and wickedly thought to purchase with money the miraculous gifts possessed by the Apostles (Acts viii. 9—23). Most of the Samaritans, and some others, professed to believe that he was a god, and worship-

ped him. In like manner they afterwards worshipped Menander, a Samaritan, of whom we read in Justin Martyr's first Apology. St. Luke (Acts xxi. 38), and Josephus, speak of an Egyptian who made an uproar, and led out four thousand murderers into the wilderness.* Dositheus, another Samaritan, tried to persuade his countrymen that he was the Messiah promised by Moses, and gained some adherents, as fanatical impostors generally do.† Many others, according to Josephus, who does not name them, endeavoured to mislead the people, pretending to have supernatural authority and power to deliver them. But they were all brought to nought, and instead of leaving monuments behind them, were lost in infamy.

One man of greater notoriety, named Bar Chochab, made his appearance in the reign of Trajan. He actually proclaimed himself to be the Messiah. He raised an insurrection of the Jews who murdered Romans and Greeks in Egypt, in Cyrene, and in Cyprus. It is said, but can hardly be believed, that those rebels ate the flesh of their victims, and smeared themselves in their blood. It does appear, however, that Rabbi Akibah, a man of high repute for learning, called him king, and became his armour-bearer. He perished in his turn in the reign of Hadrian. The number of persons killed in consequence of these impostures has been estimated at no less than 460,000. None of them could be more horribly unlike Jesus of Nazareth than this Bar Chochab. His servants did indeed fight for him. He undertook, as a king, to coin money, but his coinage was that of a robber, and the

* Just. Mart. *Apol.* I. 56. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* II. xiii. 5, says 30 (Λ), not 4 (Δ), but the difference may be explained by the confusion of Λ and Δ, as in the Alexandrian and other Manuscripts.

† Origen, *Cont. Cels.* I.

only visible things remaining to show that he existed are a few stolen pieces of Roman money, which he defaced by stamping his name upon them. His name, בר כוכבא, probably assumed for the occasion, means *son of a star*, but when his glory was extinguished by an ignominious death, the Jews themselves changed it into בר כוזיבא *son of a lie*.* כוכב is Rabbinical.

As the prediction recorded by St. Matthew did not extend beyond the fall of Jerusalem, we have not to seek for any further historic illustration. There have been madmen and impostors without number, but such persons cannot be counted with those who appeared in the last hours of the Hebrew State.

David's Sepulchre.

THERE are few sepulchral monuments to be described in this volume. Egypt, indeed, is full of tombs devoted to the name and praise of kings and priests for whom they were prepared, but not so Palestine. There were tombs in Judea, but it was a lesser kingdom, and often ravaged. In no country was greater care taken to preserve the memory of departed ancestors, but their bodies were buried out of sight with little pomp, and the preservation of their names was chiefly left to genealogical registers. Or if tombs were built to the memory of once persecuted prophets, the honour was rendered too late, and the labour of building such tombs merited no praise.

Yet there were sepulchres, and they were carefully guarded, so long as there was any religious veneration in the land. One of them, after the vicissitudes of more

* BUXTORF, *Lex. Rab. Talm.* s. v. כבב.

than three thousand years, remains far enough preserved to be a real Biblical Monument.

St. Peter, in his Pentecostal sermon at Jerusalem (Acts ii. 29), proved to the repentant multitude that the exemption from the corruption of the grave, spoken of in the sixteenth Psalm, could not have been granted to David, writer of the Psalm, inasmuch as he was both dead and buried, "and his sepulchre," said the Apostle, "is with us unto this day." This was said in the hearing of many thousands of people, and if it were not true, would have provoked contradiction. But none could contradict what every one knew. The sermon, as translated into Greek, has the word μνῆμα which suggests the idea of an inscribed memorial. It is not known, however, whether there was an epitaph on David's tomb; nor is the mere etymological meaning of a word to be weighed against familiar acceptation, nor does it answer etymologically to the name which would probably be used in the common speech of Jerusalem. This is found in the Syriac version, where we might reasonably expect to find the name of David's burial-place current at the time when he wrote, and is בֵּית קְבוּרָתוֹ *House* (place) *of his burial.* Such was the cave of Machpelah, and such were the tombs of the prophets, and the tombs of the kings of Judah, in which last it is certain that David was buried. "*So David slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David*" (1 Kings ii. 10). Now the City of David was Bethlehem (1 Sam. xvi. 1—4; Luke ii. 4; John vii. 42), and near the present village of Bethlehem were, no doubt, those very tombs.

M. Caignart de Saulcy,* commissioned some years ago by the French government, excavated the subterranean

* *Voyage en Terre Sainte.* Paris, 1865. Tome Ire.

traditionally known as the Tombs of the Kings, between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and his minute, full, and formally authenticated narrative, leaves no reasonable doubt that the place once known by name to the Jews, and now distinguished by the Arabs as *Tombs of the Kings*, is the very place where the body of David lay.

Josephus mentions these tombs, and although his text does not afford any distinct information as to the site, his descriptions were so circumstantial as to be found useful to the explorer. He says that John Hyrcanus, High Priest and King, broke into the tombs, and robbed them of about three thousand talents of money, buried with the kings. He also relates that one of the Herods attempted to take the treasure which Hyrcanus was supposed to have left, opened the sepulchre at night, went into it, and found a treasure of golden vessels and jewels, all which he took away. But he had a strong desire to go further in, *even to the vaults where the bodies of David and Solomon lay*, κατὰ τὰς θήκας ἐν αἷς ἦν τοῦ Δαυΐδου καὶ τοῦ Σαλομῶνος τὰ σώματα, and make a more thorough search. But it was reported that two of his guards were killed by a flame which burst on them as they were attempting to go in, and that he ran out horribly frightened, and afterwards built a propitiatory monument of costly white stone over the mouth of the tomb, to show his reverence.* It is not impossible the lamps carried by the guards before Herod may have caused a gaseous explosion, if the story of the fire be not a mere adorning of the tale; but *the propitiatory monument* ἱλαστήριον μνῆμα of white marble, built too so short a time before Josephus, could not have been a mere invention of this historian, nor of Nicolaus, another historian, who was contemporary with Herod, and agrees with Josephus.

---

* *Antiq. Jud.* XVI. vii. 1.

So the sepulchre with the marble monument was well known sixty years later than the sermon of St. Peter, when the Apostle told the Jews that they had it with them *at that day*. The objects were familiar to them all, and these incidents of history or fiction, whichever it was, were associated with them.

Not only kings, but members of royal families would most probably be buried there, and the burial of Sarah in the same cave with Abraham was an example to be followed in respect to royal ladies.

M. de Saulcy began his excavations by clearing away the earth which covered the entrance to the tombs, and laid open to view steps of solid rock. Then he went down the steps to the entrance of the "House of Graves," and penetrated into the first Grand Chamber, clearing his way through the accumulated rubbish of two thousand years at least. With characteristic perseverance he uncovered platform after platform in the heart of the rock, connected by galleries with gently inclined levels, and found each chamber surrounded with *loculi*, or beds for the dead, extructed at right angles with the chamber, each *loculus* to be closed at the foot with a stone, as was the "grave" of Lazarus. In these mortuary cells corpses had no doubt been laid in aromatic spices, and covered with costly robes.

Before reaching the inmost burial-places, he found the remains of Roman funerals with incineration; heaps of bones, unburnt, showing how Roman soldiers, most probably during the siege of Jerusalem, had fallen between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Jars containing human dust indicated more solemn funeral rites.

Digging deeper again, he came upon coins of older times; one, for example, of the age of Jaddua the High Priest, he that is said to have met Alexander the Great

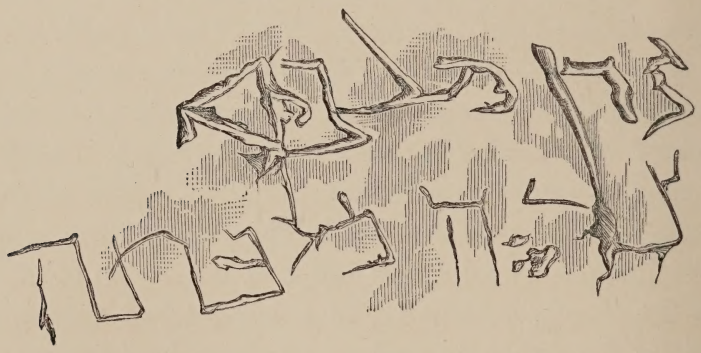
on his approach to Jerusalem. Another that had been stamped soon after the Maccabees. There were also lachrymatories and precious jewels, some of western fashion. Others, lying deeper, of Asiatic. Then he found fragments of demolished cornices and pilasters, broken sarcophagi, and, as he believes, remains of the Herodian monument of pure white marble.

But he had not yet discovered the *thecæ* which Herod sought but could not find, being driven back by terror. At length, when almost baffled by seemingly impenetrable rock, one of his associates in search detected a joint in the stone-work of yet another inner chamber. The intelligence of this discovery reminded him of a passage in his Greek Josephus which tells of the στόμιον of a tomb—*the narrow entrance*. He therefore set at work to remove the masonry, succeeded perfectly, and made his way into the inmost and deepest chamber of the whole cemetery, which became the scene of his chief discovery. There lay a richly carved chest of calcareous stone, too small to receive a human body, and apparently a treasure-chest. It was broken; evidently broken by violence for the sake of the contents. Shattered remains of sarcophagi were on the floor. One of them, however, was entire, lid and all, and did not seem to have been violated. The lid was not flat, but a slab of marble cut in the shape, externally, of a low-pitched roof, which is said by the Arabs to distinguish sarcophagi for females. De Saulcy saw the lid lifted, and laid gently on the floor.

Then he looked down into the coffin, and saw the skeleton of a female, seemingly perfect,—for the external air had not reached it until that moment. It was perfect in form, except that the facial bones had sunk into the bowl of the skull. A gentle endeavour to lift up what remained of the head, caused the whole cranium to sub-

side into the finest dust. So did all the skeleton. Dust covered the bed of the coffin, but the embroidered borders of the grave-clothes might almost be traced as they originally lay upon the corpse, by thousands of finely-twisted threads of gold which remained after the warp and woof of raiment was utterly dissolved by time.

Before opening the sarcophagus, M. de Saulcy had the wisdom to summon witnesses who might see what should be found. They saw all this, and signed a document in presence of himself and the French Consul, who signed it also. A copy of this important document is given in the Appendix to the two volumes of his *Voyage*. Now came the question whose corpse this might have been? There was an inscription outside the coffin, and it had to be deciphered. The copy given by the discoverer appears to be an exact *facsimile*. It is obviously bi-lingual, and not



all written by the same hand. The upper line is Aramaic, and the lower Hebrew. Both lines are strictly equivalent, and mean SADON, or SARON, QUEEN; the ס being sounded soft. The present writer decides for *Saron*, partly from the form of the character, and partly because he observes that the same name occurs in a sepulchral inscription in Carthage.*

* DAVIS. *Ruined Cities in Africa.* London, 1862. Page 369.

The language of the inscription at Carthage is Latin, but the name is certainly Phœnician—

SARON
VA
LXV

That is to say—*Saron vixit annos* LXV.

It may have been a Tyrian wife of Solomon whose remains were seen by De Saulcy. Leaving many valuable observations and conjectures of the discoverer, we are content to note that this sepulchre of royalty at or near Bethlehem—although only one of the sleeping tenants is to be traced—affords an undeniable confirmation to St. Peter's words, "*Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the Patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day.*" For although the remains of David were not in this one sarcophagus, the name of one royal person is identified, and she was but one of many tenants of the House of Graves of the Kings of Judah, near, or in Bethlehem, the city of David.

Violation of Tombs.

This account of M. de Saulcy demonstrates that the tombs of the kings were violated, and the bodies of the dead disturbed; which brings evidence of the fulfilment of a prophecy. For the sake of brevity, we will do no more than quote Jerome's Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah. In the latter half of the fourth century, Jerome lived in Bethlehem. He was a diligent Hebrew student and close inquirer into all that related to the Jews and their history. Commenting on Jer. viii. 1—3, he writes as follows:—

"At that time, saith the Lord, they shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of his princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets,

and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves: and they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom they have loved, and whom they have served, and after whom they have walked, and whom they have sought, and whom they have worshipped: they shall not be gathered, nor be buried; they shall be for dung upon the earth. And death shall be chosen rather than life by all the residue of them that remain of this evil family, which remain in all the places whither I have driven them, saith the Lord of Hosts.

"We see all that the prophetic discourse predicted actually come to pass in our own time, not only at Jerusalem, where they have suffered it from the Chaldees and from the *Romans*, but the whole world over, so that after the tears of those who were once living are dried away, all that the prophets foretold is fulfilled with the bones of the dead. And as they were accustomed, according to an ancient usage, to bury gold and certain ornaments of both men and women in the sepulchres together with the dead, avarice has broken open the sepulchres and dug out the dead, exposing them to the light of day. *First, the bones of the kings of Judah*, and then those of their princes, of the priests, too, and of the prophets, and of all the people who had inhabited Jerusalem, were brought out of the tombs, and laid open to the view, so to speak, of sun, moon and stars, that they whom they served after they had forsaken God, might look upon them, and see them consumed like ashes in a dunghill. So great is the misery, that if any one of the multitude had escaped, and could come to one of these places, he would prefer death to life, and think the destruction of his soul a remedy for a life insufferably wretched."

Jerome speaks of his own certain knowledge. He affirms that not only the Chaldees broke open sepulchres, but also the Romans, which exactly tallies with the discovery by De Saulcy of Roman remains in the sepulchres. He speaks of bringing bones out of the *tumuli* (we translate "tombs"), indicating the *loculi*, as it is now customary to call the cells wherein the bodies were deposited, as in the case of our Lord and of Lazarus; the cells being distinct from, and sometimes opening into, the central chambers where the sarcophagi of princes were laid, as was that of Queen Saron, found by M. de Saulcy.

The violation of sepulchres by the conquerors of Judæa sufficiently accounts for the paucity of sepulchral monuments in that country, and the robbery by Herod of the tomb of David recalls what we have read of the desecration of the sepulchral chamber of Cyrus the Great.

The Apostle Paul.

Beyond the boundaries of infant Christendom, passages relating to the personal history of St. Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles, are often discovered even in Jewish writings, with a minuteness of detail and incident exquisitely realistic.

Answering for himself in presence of an infuriated multitude in Jerusalem, the metropolis of Judaism, he says: "I am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, yet brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect law of the fathers" (Acts xxii. 3). He was no obscure stranger without name or credit. While he spake, this very Gamaliel, grandson of the celebrated Hillel, chief of the doctors with whom "the boy Jesus" conversed so wisely in the Temple, was flourishing in the

city, and his name was fragrant in all the East. They paid him reverence under the high title of Rabban Gamaliel the aged, a title at once expressive of every quality that could make a man of exalted piety and learning the object of affectionate respect. Gamaliel lived amidst amazing scenes of miracle and of brighter revelation, until within nineteen years of the fall of the Holy City, and destruction of the second Temple. He is most honourably mentioned in the Mishnah. "When Rabban Gamaliel died, the honour of the Law passed away, and purity and sanctity departed with him."*

Purity and *sanctity*, פרישות, SEPARATION as of a Pharisee. Such separation as was meant to deliver the devotee from all defilements of the world; and this is what Gamaliel had taught the young Jew from Tarsus. Viewed in this relation, the phraseology of St. Paul when describing himself, is historically and graphically exact. It is exact even as to the posture of a disciple, and according to the Gemarah on the place just quoted exhibits the profound reverence that was paid to Saul's master, but not again rendered by their disciples to any of his successors. "*The masters relate, that from the days of Moses to the age of Gamaliel, disciples learned the Law standing.* [That is to say, standing *at the feet*, παρὰ τοὺς πόδας of their masters, who sat on the ground.] *After the death of Gamaliel, diseases began to infest the city, and they began to learn the Law sitting. Hence the saying, 'The honour of the Law passed away.'*"

As for St. Paul, if any one desires a monument of *him*, he already has it in books of the New Testament written by this Apostle; he finds it in the theology of those

* NASHIM, *Sotah* ix. 15.

portions of the Church of Christ where his doctrine is recognised as forming so large a part in determining Christian faith, and in directing the whole course of Christian life.

St. Paul in Athens.

THE life-like narrative of the introduction of Christianity into Athens, as recorded by St. Luke, is in its kind single. The herald of the Saviour, chosen to carry His Gospel to the Gentiles and to kings, stands before the Areopagites, ready to answer for himself. Without a word of preface, he tells those most illustrious of the men of Athens that he perceives them to be *much addicted to the worship of departed heroes*, δεισιδαιμονεστέρους (Acts xvii. 22). The gravest of the judges might have smiled assent to this exact description of Athenian piety, as he conveys it in one well chosen word. The stranger had surveyed, in passing through the city, *the objects of their devotion*, the σεβάσματα —statues of gods and demigods. Some of those very statues yet remain. Just one image of Theseus, a real hero, who ruled over Athens more than twelve centuries before, whose history, exalted into fable, was now mingled with the Greek mythology, and whose ideal strength and manly symmetry of frame were figured in one of the most perfect sculptures that ever came from the chisel of that prince of artists, Phidias, and is chosen to illustrate this page of our volume. What remains of it is now in the British Museum, mutilated and battered by Turkish iconoclasts; but then, in perfection of beauty, it might be seen by the Apostle and by all his auditory when they passed within sight of the Temple of Minerva which crowned the

Acropolis, in full view from the court of the Areopagus just opposite. The Theseus was in the pediment of the eastern portico of the Parthenon, conspicuous in the very culmen of architectural excellence and pagan pride. With processions, sacrifices and hymns, the Athenians still honoured Theseus, and this marble fragment is, perhaps, the most precious portion of the wrecks which the tide of time has left for our admiration.

As the Apostle entered the city, one less ostentatious object attracted his observation, and supplied a topic of discourse. An altar dedicated *to an unknown god*, ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. Pausanias, himself a thoughtful and narrowly observant visitor, to whose eye every object served as the memorial of some historical event or mythic fable, when describing the prospect which met one's eye on entering Athens, distinctly mentions altars with the same dedication, *altars, too, of gods that were called* UNKNOWN, βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων.* It seems that there were many altars of the sort.

Philosophic sects had their chief seats in Athens, and there the masters with their disciples swelled the crowds on the Agora. St. Paul freely encountered them. Daily he disputed with the leaders of the chief sects, the Epicureans and the Stoics, who must have thought him likely to become leader of a new sect, unfriendly to them both, and he is now on "Mars' Hill," in obedience to a summons requiring him to answer for himself before this High Court, entrusted with the oversight of all that might concern religion and morals. Every teacher of a new philosophy, not necessarily because he had given any occasion of offence or cause of suspicion, but if only because he was a new

* *Attica*, Lib. I. cap. i. 4.

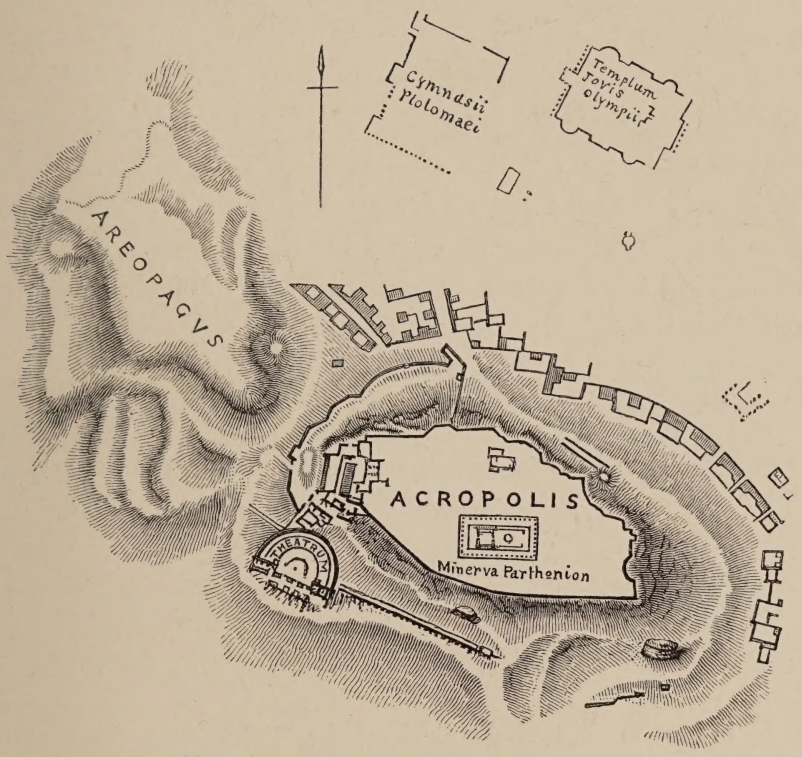
Fig. 34.

THESEUS.

Fig. 35.

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.

comer, was liable to a solemn investigation. Cleanthes, for example, a successor of Zeno, had been called up thither, about two centuries before. Cleanthes must have stood on the same spot. The judges were again seated on that hill-top in the open air, on the same rude stone benches. The whole place retained the aspect of undebased simplicity



which it wore when philosophy and arts were young, and marble temples with golden gods as yet unknown—long before that huge colossal Minerva towered above, goddess of wisdom and patroness of Athens. In that presence* he pronounced the sentence that "God the Lord of heaven

* The ground-plan of the Acropolis and the Areopagus shows the relative position of the two hills.

and earth dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things."

Their attention he demanded by the majesty of his discourse, and he conciliated their favourable judgment by condescending to consider their attachments and their prepossessions. Referring to their *unknown gods*, he told them of ONE to whom, without knowing Him, they had dedicated altars. Quoting the language of Cleanthes, he told them that they were all the children of that unknown, but universal, Father: *for we are all His offspring.* *Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γενός ἐσμέν.* The words occur in the sublime Hymn of Cleanthes to Jupiter, varied only in quotation by substituting the third person for the second:—

Mightiest of immortals, Thou many-named, almighty ever,
Jupiter. Nature's Lord, all things with law controlling.
Hail! For to give ear to all men mortal is thy wont.
FOR WE ARE THY OFFSPRING, *who have received the gift of repeating speech,*
We only, whatever mortal things do live and creep upon the ground.

Κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων, πολυώνυμε, παγκρατὲς αἰεὶ
Ζεῦ, φύσεως ἀρχηγὲ, νόμου μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν,
Χαῖρε. Σὲ γὰρ πάντεσσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσαυδᾷν,
Ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμὲν, ἰῆς μίμημα λαχόντες.
Μοῦνοι, ὅσα ζώει τε καὶ ἕρπει θνήτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν.*

It is not within the scope of this volume to descant on the Grecian learning of the Apostle, but we must observe, that every person of high station with whom he is recorded to have been in correspondence—except, perhaps, the father of Publius in Malta—may be heard of from contemporaneous historians. Even "the Lion," from whose mouth the Lord once delivered him (2 Tim. iv. 17), the

* STOBÆUS, Edit. Heeren I. 30.

Fig. 37.

NERO.

licentious and savage Nero, added to his own hateful notoriety by the martyrdom of this Apostle, and by his persecution of the Christians. Tacitus and Suetonius might be quoted here, but the subject has been so often and so largely treated, both by enemies and advocates of Christianity, that passing reference is quite sufficient. The extremely characteristic head of Nero, also of original Roman sculpture, pictures the natural resemblance between the man and his crimes.

St. Paul at Ephesus.

St. Paul planted Christianity in Ephesus. In that city St. John dwelt, according to Irenæus, until the reign of Trajan, and Eusebius quotes authorities to show that this Apostle returned thither from Patmos after the death of Domitian.* The site of the city, with the celebrated Temple of Diana, was utterly lost, but has lately been discovered under the indefatigable direction of Mr. Wood, and is at this time a field of archæological research.

After baptising twelve men, who had only received the baptism of John the Baptist, the Apostle disputed, or *preached*, דרש, boldly in the Jews' synagogue, during three months, but when "divers were hardened, and spake evil of that way before the multitude, he left the synagogue, accompanied by his disciples, and disputed in the school of Tyrannus for the space of two years, so that all they that dwelt in [the proconsular province of] Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks." Miracles confirmed the mission of the preacher.

---

* Irenæi, *Contra Hæreses*, Lib. III. cap. iii. 4; Euseb. *H. E.* III. 23.

Jewish exorcists tried to imitate the miracles, but were signally confounded; and this became known to all the Jews and Greeks dwelling at Ephesus. Fear fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. Then came a company of Ephesian sorcerers, confessed the curious arts they had practised, *and showed their deeds.* They brought their books, burned them openly, and, having counted the price of them, found that it amounted to fifty thousand pieces of silver. What the books were is not known, but may possibly be discovered. The curious arts may be conjectured; and it is well known that among the amulets or incantations, there were just six most barbarous words called *the Ephesian letters.* They were used as charms, and in meaning nothing must have consisted all their power, for barbarians often reverence most what they understand the least. Androcydes, a Pythagorean, fancied they were symbolical, and conjectured, but could not prove, meanings for them. Clement of Alexandria preserved them thus:—ασκιον, καταξιον, λιξ, τετραξ, δαμναμενευς and αισιον.* Perhaps they may be yet found on stones. They were inscribed on the image of the goddess, and worn on the priests' robes.

No small stir followed the exposure of these impostures; and one Demetrius, a silversmith, who made *silver temples* ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς of Diana,—and whatever that may mean, it was a manufacture which brought great gain to the craftsmen,—called together the *artificers,* τεχνίτας, and the *workmen,* ἐργάτας, and thus addressed them:—"Sirs, ye know that by this craft we get our wealth. Moreover ye see and hear that not alone in Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much

* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* Lib. V. cap. viii. 46; Hesych. *s. v.*

people, saying that they be no gods which are made with hands: so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought, but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth."

This harangue must have been delivered in the Great Theatre. The concourse and excitement filled the city with confusion. A shouting in the theatre, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" reverberated between the steeps of the hills Coressus and Prion, and rang through the streets. At the sound, the crowd gathered like a torrent, and Gaius and Aristarchus, two of Paul's companions, were carried on amidst the press into the theatre. St. Paul himself, anxious to face the multitude, would have gone in after them, but some of the Asiarchs, being his friends, held him back. Alexander, a Jew, was there, and attempted to address the people. He waved his hand for attention, but when they saw that he was a Jew, they shouted for two hours, "*Great is Diana of the Ephesians!*"

All this time, the Town Clerk, an officer of whom we shall speak directly, seems to have waited in his place until the confused cries and passionate acclamation had subsided, and then he hushed the exhausted multitude into attention. "Ye men of Ephesus," said he, "what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter? Seeing, then, that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly. For ye have brought hither these men, which are neither *robbers of sacred places*, ἱεροσύλους, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess. Wherefore if Demetrius, and the craftsmen which are with him, have a matter against any man, the law is open, and there are deputies,

let them implead one another. But if ye enquire anything concerning other matters, it shall be determined in *the lawful assembly* ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ. For we are in danger to be called in question by this day's uproar, *there existing no cause*, μηδενὸς αἰτίου ὑπάρχοντος, whereby we may give an account of this concourse. And when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly" (Acts xix.).

On this we note as compendiously as possible.

Diana was indeed great, if greatness could be possible to an idol, by the majesty of its temple, the number of its priests and priestesses, the strength of a military guard, the many myriads of blind votaries in Asia and the world, a treasury overflowing with wealth, a revenue swollen with the tribute of provinces and the gifts of princes. If Diana were a being consciously existent, she might feel aggrandised by the dignity of priests calling themselves kings, and by the multitudes of criminal fugitives fleeing continually to find asylum within the spacious precinct thrown around her sanctuary. Perhaps no heathen god was ever greater after such a sort.

Within the memory of St. Paul, now aged (A.D. 54 *c.*), the power of paganism in Ephesus had greatly grown. The Emperor Augustus, in his day, immediately after it became head of a Roman proconsulate, raised the city accordingly. He settled long standing difficulties between the hieratic and civic interests, and at the same time enlarged the influence of the special idolatry of the place, by causing the erection of a temple within the town for the worship of the same goddess, but for the use of Romans resident at Ephesus. This was called the *Sebasteion*, or *Augusteum*, in honour of himself as emperor, having a divinity of his own, but patronising the worship of Diana. The Great Temple, the wonder of Asia, and one of the

seven wonders of the world, lay distant from the Great Theatre in the city about two miles. It was called the *Artemision*, Temple of Artemis (Diana), and money was taken from its treasury to build the Augusteum, and thereby much increase the number of devotees, and authority of the worship, while the resident Romans added to the wealth of the city, also maintaining their own priests. Asiatic, Grecian and Roman elements were now united, making Ephesus, with its temples, palaces and public institutions, as nearly œcumenical as any one place could be. Every secular interest, political charm, and superstitious delusion was combined in resisting the entrance of nascent Christianity, the worship now so earnestly and powerfully claimed by St. Paul for Christ.

To understand the scene, however, as described by St. Luke, and illustrated by an Ephesian inscription, lately brought to light, a few more observations are necessary.

The town-clerk, *scribe*, or γραμματεὺς, as this title was applied at Ephesus, wielded a twofold authority over the hierarchy, as a chief of the people, and as a servant of the emperor. He was not a mere clerk of the people, having civic authority with some sacerdotal power in the Artemision, but was entirely what the Syrian translator of the New Testament, writing with knowledge of affairs as they then were, calls *Head of the City* ܪܫ ܕܩܪܝܬܐ. Once, the chief priest of Diana had his name on the Ephesian coins, and boasted that his inferior priests were kings,* but that time passed away with Augustus Cæsar, and the imperial supremacy, paralysing the sacerdotal power that it chose not to uphold, left a way open for the Gospel.

This accounts for St. Paul preaching freely in Ephesus

* Pausanias, Lib. VIII., xiii. 1.

during at least two years and three months in undissembled opposition to that vast idolatrous establishment. It reads literally, that St. Paul preached *in the School of Tyrannus*, and in that place, within the space of two years, he was heard by all that were in Asia, both Jews and Greeks. But the character of the Ephesian ruins, together with the usage of Greek, enables us now to form a clearer conception of what that *school* might be. A room in the house of a schoolmaster would not have been sufficient. The Greek received text has indeed the pronoun τινός, but there is no such word in the Sinaitic, Vatican and Alexandrian Manuscripts. It is absent from some others of good authority, and if it were not received into the present text, *one* Tyrannus would not appear in our English Bible. Seeing that there are traces in the site of the old city of more public buildings than the Theatre, there can be no doubt that there were other places of assemblage, not only the Stadium, the Forum, the Odeion and two Gymnasia, but the Xystus, where Justin, the philosopher, met the Jew Tryphon,* and other structures usual in great cities. The word σχόλη, as may be seen in the Greek Lexicographers,† names a resort of philosophers for discourse or debate, usually held in spacious areas, whether colonnades or gardens, and is different from the διδασκαλεῖον for boys, which we call "school." A perusal of the publication referred to at the foot of the page, will show that there was no lack of such accommodation in Ephesus, where St. Paul could have quite as much freedom as he enjoyed at Athens, and in other Greek cities. Even when the storm of per-

* Just. Mart. *Dial. Tryph.* 1. ; cf. Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 18.

† There is a good Map of Ephesus, as now known, in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens, herausgegeben von Ernst Curtius, aus den Abhandlungen der Königl. Academie der Wissenschaften, zu Berlin,* 1872.

secution burst on him, it came not from the Artemisium, for the political reason already stated, but from the silversmiths; not for the love of Diana so much as for the sake of their craft. Asiarchs, too, *certain of the chiefs of Asia*, τινὲς τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν, men high in office, having charge of public order and security, with direction of games, processions and festivities, were friends of the Apostle, and restrained him from adventuring himself into the theatre.

The scene of that uproar is now laid open. It is a vast theatre, cut out of the slope of the Prion, and according to the computation of Colonel Leake, who carefully surveyed the ground, measured the area, and counted the steps, it would contain not less than 56,700 people. Yet it was not too large when nearly all the population of the city, with priests and strangers, devotees from far as well as near, all who came to Ephesus for pleasure or for gain, were crowded into it.

Not to repeat the well-known account of the excavations, we may gather important illustration from the Ephesian inscriptions now treasured in the British Museum. One, especially, distinguished by the name of Vibius Salutarius, which most nearly relates to various particulars of the narrative in the Acts of the Apostles,* is brought from the Great Theatre.

At the beginning of this inscription the eye falls on the title γραμματευς, as it was peculiarly employed at Ephesus.

* I am indebted to the courtesy of C. T. Newton, Esq., for a sight of his transcript of the Salutarius Inscription from the marble, and also for verbal information of portions of it which more obviously relate to our present subject. The inscription, which extends over many blocks, cannot be published until the entire collection, of which this is but a small part, shall be duly edited for the Museum. The work is in course of preparation, but it requires long study, with extensive and minute research.—*W. H. R.*

The high dignity of his calling, as rightly understood in the Peshito Syriac version, above quoted, is entirely confirmed by its position. After official mention of the *Prytanis*, on whom it would devolve to summon the assembly whose acts are here recorded, and after a general mention of the council and the people, the *Grammateus* ranks first in the enumeration of particular authorities, "*Julianus, Lover of his Country, Lover of Augustus, Pure in life, Religious, Grammateus of the People.* Ιουλιανος, Φιλοπατρις, Φιλοσεβαστος, Αγνος, Ευσεβης, Γραμματευς του δημου." Zeal for the city, a virtue of great account with the public of Ephesus, is marked among the honourable epithets, many of which are lost by the shattering of the marble, and reminds us of the devotion to the city professed by the silversmiths,—"*Men who show themselves zealous concerning the city*—Φιλοτιμους ανδρας περι την πολιν." The two-hours cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," well corresponds with a fragment in this inscription having reference to "*the greatest goddess, Artemis . . .* την μεγιστην Θεον Αρτεμιν." The devotion of the city to the service of the Temple, as it was expressed when the Town Clerk called the city "*temple-sweeper,* νεωκόρος" of the goddess, is repeated with slightest variation when the inscription says, "*It seemed good to the council, and to the Cæsar-loving people of the temple-sweepers.*" The use of *assembly,* ἐκκλησία in the inscription, to denote a solemn public assemblage, needs no further notice, as it is common to all Greece.

The object of the inscription is to place on record several magnificent gifts of Salutarius, who must have been a Roman votary of Ephesian Diana. He is described as a man of the equestrian order, holding high commands from the emperor (Domitian), and distinguished by purity of

life, and zeal for the goddess. There is a long list of treasures which he gives to the temple, some of gold and some of silver. Among these are figures of Diana, one especially, ponderous in solid gold. Silver statues also of the Roman Senate, the Senate of Ephesus, the Ephebi, and other public bodies in Ephesus, all symbolically personified.

Besides gifts of precious objects, Salutarius granted some money to be placed out on interest at twelve per cent. He engaged that if he died before 20,000 denarii were deposited in the treasury of the temple, his estate should be liable to that obligation; and he promised that the gift should begin from the next following birth-day of the goddess. The gifts and dedicated statues were never to be applied to any other purpose than that set forth in the inscription, and anyone who tried to annul the decrees therein recorded should pay 25,000 drachmas, to be employed in adorning the great goddess Diana, besides another 25,000 to the imperial treasury, making about £2,000 sterling in all.

Then follow the names of the Proconsul Aquilius Proculus, and of the legate, Ephremus Flavianus, who confirm the foregoing.

The pomp of Ephesian idol-worship may be faintly imagined by a few intimations. The chrysophori, or gold-bearers, are to carry to the Great Theatre the statues given by Salutarius, on occasion of public assemblies, and in processions with the Ephebi. The processions will take place on all the stated days, and on every other day appointed by the Senate and People. The processions will proceed from the *pronaos* of the temple to the city, entering by the Magnesian Gate, and passing onward to the theatre. After the assembly they will return again to the temple, by another way, round the hill Prion,

perhaps. The birth-day of Diana was probably the greatest of days for her worshippers. Salutarius gave much money to provide a fund for paying musicians and others, for entertaining the people on that day. This document, inscribed on many blocks of marble, was dated in the year of Rome 857 or in the year of our Lord 104, in the reign of Domitian, Aquilius Proculus being Proconsul in Asia, and Sex. Attius Saburanus II. and M. Asinius Marcellus, Consuls for the year.

Not only does this inscription, with the remains of Ephesus as now discovered, enabled the student to verify more perfectly several literal particulars in the narrative of St. Luke; the entire discovery also throws much light on the magnitude and social strength of the system which St. Paul dared to assail for Christ's sake, and the power of Christianity which by itself, with little human aid, broke down the entire fabric, and triumphed over as grand a confederacy of princes and priests as the world ever saw, if not the grandest.

After the visit of St. Paul, Ephesus gave way with the declining empire, and the greatness of Diana dwindled before the advances of the faith which had meekly defied the clamours in the theatre. Temple and city were destroyed about the year 262. When Gallus and Volusianus assumed the purple, they purchased peace from the Goths by the payment of a heavy tribute, but they soon died violent deaths; Gallienus seized on the empire, but everything ran to ruin while he abandoned himself to profligacy. Using their opportunity, the Gothic chiefs, Respa, Veduco, Thuro and Varo embarked on the Euxine, sailed down the Hellespont, and infested the coast of Lesser Asia. After winning many lesser conquests, with slight resistance,—for this was their third naval expedition within a very short period,—they

FIG. 38.

SCULPTURED PILLAR FROM THE TEMPLE OF DIANA IN EPHESUS.

VISITORS
ARE REQUESTED NOT
TO TOUCH THE
SCULPTURES

landed at Ephesus, and, to borrow the words of Jornandes, himself a Goth, "*they burn up with fire* [igne succendunt] *that exceeding rich Temple of Diana at Ephesus.*"* Passing through parts of Bithynia, they laid Chalcedon in ruins, and, laden with spoils, re-crossed the Hellespont.

Ruins of Ephesian Diana were left behind them; Roman altars, with dedication "DIANÆ EPHESIÆ," remain to attest how greatly her worship was once honoured. But the stately columns were soon broken to serve in other edifices; smaller pillars of precious stone were carried away entire, or the broken marbles were burnt for lime, until perhaps a decree of Constantine the Great might check for a time the barbarous waste of material from the deserted temples of paganism. A basal drum of one of the *columnæ celatæ*, so called by Pliny, remains to show what the historian meant by this description; and when the writer first saw it, it was on one side blackened by the smoke of the consuming cedar-beams of the fallen roofs, on the day of conflagration. It measures more than six feet in diameter, without including figures sculptured in bold relief. There are four of these in the state shown by the accompanying photographic picture, where we see a Mercury with his caduceus, and three other figures, all in some degree mutilated. The column was sixty feet in height, in perfect agreement with the classic accounts oft quoted.

St. Paul at Jerusalem.

IN compliance with a suggestion of James, and the Elders of the Church in Jerusalem, St. Paul was induced to associate with himself four men who had a vow on

* JORNANDIS *De Origine Actûque Getarum Liber.*

them, to purify himself with them, and go together with them into the Temple "to signify the accomplishment of the days of purifying, until that an offering should be made for every one of them" (Acts xxi. 25). The motive of the Elders in advising the Apostle to take this course was to show that he walked orderly, and kept the Law. Compliance with this advice does appear somewhat at variance with St. Paul's own teaching, and may be regarded as an instance of well-meant but unsuccessful compromise in a little thing. On the other hand, it must be remembered that while, as yet, the Temple was standing, entire separation from its services was not accomplished.

"The Jews which were in Asia, when they saw him *in the sacred place*, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him, crying out, Men of Israel, help: this is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people and the Law, and this place; and further brought Greeks also *into the sacred place*, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, and hath polluted *this holy place*, τὸν ἅγιον τόπον τοῦτον. For they had seen before with him in the city Trophimus, an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the Temple." Every one knows that the introduction of a heathen foreigner into the Temple would have been a daring desecration of the place, and of such a desecration St. Paul could not be guilty. Now the whole matter can best be understood by help of an inscription lately discovered in Jerusalem.

M. Ganneau, long known as a learned archæologist, and especially noted as one of the first who saw, and the first who translated, the inscription on the Moabite stone, relates* that on the 26th May, 1871, being in a part of

* *Revue Archéologique.* Avril et Mai, 1872.

Jerusalem less frequently visited by Europeans, he felt inclined to explore the premises of a deserted old Mohammedan college, which he had often heard of, but never seen. Passing through a ruinous doorway, without the thought of finding anything of importance there, his antiquarian eye caught sight of a fine sharp-cut block of very hard stone, built into the wall with other blocks of inferior quality. It lay low in the building, and appeared yet lower than when at first placed there, inasmuch as the ground had risen in course of time, as it always does rise in such situations. On one part of the face of the stone he observed what seemed to be incised writing, and on looking in closely, he found, just peeping above ground, two Greek letters, ΠΟ. Closer still, after scraping a little of the soft earth at the surface, he discovered a third letter, making ΣΠΟ, and certainly indicating a Greek word. This impelled him to dig, and very soon, exposing more of the stone, he laid open the ends of at least three lines of a well preserved inscription. At last, with the help of one or two poor Arabs living in the ruins, he laid bare the entire block, nowhere broken, measuring nearly three English feet in length, two feet in breadth, and 15½ inches in thickness.

It was at once evident that the stone had formed part of a building older than the Moslem college, that it lay in the original building horizontally, but had been set up on end to form part of the corner of the gate-way. The stone is so hard that a hammer strikes fire on it. The inscription tells where it was originally placed. As soon as the Pasha of Jerusalem heard of it, he caused it to be taken out of the wall and brought to himself, but before the removal, M. Ganneau had managed to obtain a photogram of the inscription, which we borrow. In type it may be

exhibited as follows, the divisions of words being marked for the convenience of the reader:—

ΜΗΘΕΝΑ|ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗ|ΕΙΣΠΟ
ΡΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ|ΕΝΤΟΣ|ΤΟΥ|ΠΕ
ΡΙ|ΤΟ|ΙΕΡΟΝ|ΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥ|ΚΑΙ|
ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥΟΣ|Δ|ΑΝ|ΑΗ
ΦΘΗ|ΕΑΥΤΩΙ|ΑΙΤΙΟΣ|ΕΣ
ΤΑΙ|ΔΙΑ|ΤΟ|ΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥ
ΘΕΙΝ|ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ|

"*No stranger born may enter within the circuit of the barrier* (τρυφάκτου) *and enclosure* (περιβόλου) *that is around the sacred court* (τὸ ἱερόν). *And whoever shall be caught there upon himself be the blame of the death that will consequently follow.*" Flavius Josephus, describing the enclosures, or courts, of the Temple, tells us that in the midst of the outer court, which he describes as very spacious, and surrounded by vast cloisters of an amazing grandeur, and not far within, as you pass from the cloister at the entrance, was the second court, to be reached by a few steps. This was enclosed by a stone wall for the sake of separation, where there was an inscription forbidding entrance there to foreigners, on pain of death.*

Within this court for women, there was another, *the sacred* court, not accessible by the women . . . ἐσωτέρω δὲ καὶ ἐκείνου γυναιξὶν ἄβατον ἦν τὸ ἱερόν. Still more inward was a *third* enclosure, where only priests might enter, and yet further within was *the Temple itself*, ὁ ναὸς, never called the Hieron, τὸ ἱερὸν, which is the sacred court of the Israelites, already specified. Josephus has yet another† description of the courts of the Temple built by Herod, from which Temple was taken the Stelē found by M. Ganneau. "When

* Joseph. *Antiqq.* XV. xi. 5. † Joseph *Bell Jud.* V. v. 2.

FIG. 39.

INSCRIPTION FROM THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

you went through this (first inclosure) *to the second sacred area*, ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἱερὸν, there was a partition, or *balustrade*, δρύφακτος, made of stone, all round;" and here the same word is used as was given by the Greek Church to the enclosed raised floor, or chancel.* The height of the *dryphactos* in the Temple was three cubits, and its construction was very elegant. On it stood *pillars*, στήλαι, raised at equal distances, with inscriptions declaring the law of purity, some in Greek letters, and some in Roman, *that no foreigner might go within the Holy Place*, for the second sacred place was called *holy*. Τὸ γὰρ δεύτερον ἱερὸν ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο.

Now the agreement between St. Luke, Josephus, and every word of the inscription on the Stelē at Jerusalem is most exact. St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, entered with the Nazarites *into the sacred area*, εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν; (ver. 26), certainly not into the Temple, τὸν ναὸν. The Jews saw him in the *hieron* (ver. 27). They cried out that he had brought Greeks into the *hieron*, and polluted the *holy place;* the adjectives *hieron* (sacred) and *hagion* (holy) being both used (ver. 28) for the same place, according to Josephus. They supposed only,—for they did not see,—that he had brought Trophimus, the Ephesian, into the *hieron* (ver. 29). Thence they dragged him *outside the hieron*, ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ (ver. 30), for he, being an Israelite, was in it rightfully; and then, having hold on him in the first enclosure, just within the cloisters, where Gentiles might lawfully be, forthwith the gates were shut (ver. 30), so that they held him in custody, intending to kill him, according to the letter of the law, that *whosoever should be caught*, would be to himself cause of the death

* Suicer, *s. v.*

that would consequently follow. At that critical moment, the chief captain and the soldiers ran down from the castle which overlooked the courts, and rescued him from their fury. Just there, within the closed gates of the Temple-buildings, as St. Paul afterwards declared to King Agrippa, the Jews *caught* him,—an expression which recalls the ὅς δ' ἄν λήφθη of the Stelē, *and set about killing him out of hand*, ἐπειρῶντο διαχειρίσασθαι (xxvi. 21).

Thanks to M. Ganneau, as a servant of Providence, we have now a complete enarration of the text. Truly, indeed, did our Lord say to his disciples, "*Stone shall not be left here upon stone that shall not be demolished*;—οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος επὶ λίθον, ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθήσεται" (Matt. xxiv. 2). But *there* in the Moslem College, not *here* on the site of the Holy House, is one of the dismounted stones; nay, there in the Pasha's palace, bearing witness to the true word of Christ, with confirmation of the faithful record of His servant.

In closing these notices relating to the life of St. Paul, we may make a passing observation.

Perhaps the time is near when the teaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles, concerning the moral degeneracy of mankind in the earlier ages of the world, will receive much illustration from Chaldæan and Assyrian monuments. It may become possible to trace up to the time of primeval faith, successive stages of departure for it, and to read under new light those passages in the Epistle to the Romans (i. 19—25) which describe the gradual decay of conscience, and darkening corruption of humanity, which is depicted so powerfully in the same Epistle (i. 26—32; iii. 9—18). Gradual decay in those times implies the recognition of divine truth, clearer and clearer the farther back we go.

Mr. Fox Talbot has discovered the confession of a future state, and of the immortality of the soul, strongly mingled with worship of the Assyrian gods. It occurs in a prayer for the king regnant, translated from a clay tablet in the British Museum, and reads thus: "Length of days,—long lasting years,—a strong sword,—a long life,—extended years of glory,—pre-eminence among kings, grant to my lord the king, who has given such gifts to his gods. The vast and wide bounds of his empire and of his rule may he enlarge, and may he complete. Holding supremacy, and royalty, and empire over all kings may he attain to grey hairs and old age." Thus far goes the passionate yearning after the good things of this world, which are sought first. Then the author of the prayer rises higher in acknowledgment of the truth not yet utterly obscured, but spoiled with polytheism. "*And after the gift of these present days, in the feasts of the land of the silver sky—the refulgent courts—the abode of blessedness: and in the light of the happy fields, may he dwell a life eternal—holy*—in the presence of the gods who inhabit Assyria."* Here is a confession of life and immortality, yet it is lowered with a large alloy of error. The prayer to the gods of Assyria contains confession of glorious truths, but the confession is made in darkness. It was but half cherished in the world, already half lost, yet it would have gained full acceptance if men had then received the full revelation of the Gospel, *shedding light on life and immortality*, φωτίσαντος ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν. Already the world had passed through long ages in the darkness of ignorance and guilt.

Students in the coming generation may be much aided in their exposition of the patriarchal and pagan theology

* *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology.* Vol. I. p. 107.

of the Old Testament by the deciphered literature of the palaces of Assyria and Babylon; and having learned that theology more perfectly, they may, perhaps, gain yet higher conceptions of Christianity itself.

Samaritan Gentiles.

When our Lord sent forth His twelve Apostles to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of heaven, He bade them go first to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, but laid them under a restriction. They were not to go into the way of the Gentiles, and were not to enter into any city of the Samaritans. *The Samaritans were classed with the Gentiles.* But if the Samaritans were, as they sometimes pretended, descendants of the tribe of Ephraim, or if they were apostates from the Jews, which only born Jews could be, they would be, no less than persons of the tribe of Judah, lost sheep of the house of Israel. Even Josephus speaks of the "Samaritans then possessing Sichima, the metropolis, situate at Mount Gerizim, and inhabited by the apostates from the nation of the Jews."* The Samaritan woman, on the contrary, speaks of their fathers as distinct from the Jews; and Christ, in replying to her, speaks of the Jews as distinct from the Samaritans (John iv.). So the Old Testament historian says that "the King of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel, and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof. . . . Every nation made gods of their own, and put

* *Antiq. Jud.* XI. viii. 6.

FIG. 40.

VIEW OF NABLUS.

WHERE STOOD SHECHEM.

ANDERSON DEL
WALLER Sc

them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made" (2 Kings xvii. 24, 29). Their adding the worship of the Lord to their idolatry did not alter the case; they were still Gentiles. They might boast falsely of Hebrew extraction, but were Gentiles nevertheless, and Josephus, in the passage quoted, is betrayed into a mistake.

Sargon, who completed the conquest of Samaria begun by Shalmaneser, made a record which confirms the Old Testament account, and agrees with the evidence in the Gospel according to St. John. Mr. George Smith finds it on the barrel cylinder of Sargon, in the British Museum, and reads it thus: "The Tamudi, Ibadidi, and Hayapa, remote Arabians dwelling in Bari, whom the Akku and Sapiru knew not of . . . in the service of Assur my lord I destroyed them, *and the rest of them I removed, and placed in the city of Samaria.*" Another copy reads: "Conqueror of the Tamudi, Ibadidi, Marsimani, and Hayapa, (I) *who enslaved the rest of them, and caused them to be placed in the land of Beth Omri.*"* These were the fathers of those Samaritans who welcomed the Messiah more than seven hundred years afterwards, when He came to Jacob's well and visited their city. Samaria was taken into the field of apostolic labour after the Ascension, and is mentioned accordingly in the Acts of the Apostles. Then the restriction once laid on the Apostles was removed, and the descendants of the Gentiles, placed in Samaria by Sargon, received the messengers of the Gospel in common with other Gentile nations.

---

* *Chronology of the Reign of Sennacherib.* By George Smith. London, 1871. Page 13.

St. Stephen's Sermon.

Ur of the Chaldees.

Nearly nineteen hundred years ago, the Christian protomartyr commenced a discourse before the Jewish High Priest (Acts vii. 2—4), with the recitation of a passage in sacred history relating to the deliverance of Abram from Ur of the Chaldees, an event which took place nearly two thousand years before the birth of Christ. In the prayer of the Levites, after the return from Babylon, B.C. 445, there is mention of the same in these words: "Thou art the Lord who didst choose Abram, and *broughtest him forth out of Ur of the Chaldees* וְהוֹצֵאתוֹ מֵאוּר כַּשְׂדִּים." On this passage is founded a legend that Abram had been thrown into a burning fiery furnace, and was miraculously delivered from *the fire* of the Chaldees, for אוּר is a word for fire. The fancy is so nearly like truth, that many have acquiesced in it as a genuine tradition. But tablets of equal age with Abraham now disprove the legend and confirm the text.

According to Moses, Ur, in the land of the Chaldees, was the birth-place of Terah, and of his son Abram (Gen. xi. 28, 31), but is mentioned again in the Old Testament only once, in the Book of Nehemiah. Otherwise the place would seem to be deserted, forgotten and lost. The excavators, however, have traced the site, and discovered the name on bricks found at Mugheir and Warka. Mugheir is the site of *Ur*, and Warka belongs to another city, once called *Erech*, or *Urukh*, after a patriarch of that name, and is mentioned in Genesis x. 10. Mr. George Smith has deciphered inscriptions from those sites to the following effect:—

"Urukh (ארך) King of Ur (אור) *the city*, built the house of Ur *the god*."

"To *the god* Ur, his king, Urukh, king of *the city* Ur, built his house, and built the wall of Ur *the city*."

"To Ur *the god*, the lesser light (moon) of heaven, eldest son of *the god* Bel, his King Urukh, the powerful man, King of *the city* Ur, built Bit-timgal, the house of his delight."

"To Ur, eldest son of Bel, his king, Urukh the powerful man, the fierce warrior, King of Ur, King of Sumir and Akkad, Bit-timgal, built the house of his delight."*

Elsewhere† we read of "Bit-saresir, the tower of Bit-nergal, which is in the city of Ur, which Urukh, the very ancient king, had built and had not finished. Dungi his son had its top finished."

Urukh, then, the Erech of Genesis x. 10, went from Babylon after the confusion of tongues, to a place where he built a city, and named it after his god, Ur, that is, "light," or the "moon." Another city received his own name, but it was from Ur that God brought forth Abram. Mugheir, therefore, may now be identified with the scene of Abram's call.

St. Peter on the Deluge, and the History of Izdubár.

St. Peter wrote two Epistles to "the elect strangers *of the dispersion of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia* (proconsular), *and Bithynia*," διασπορᾶς Πόντου, κτλ., that is to

* *Transact. Soc. Bibl. Archæology.* Vol. I., Part I., p. 34.

† *Ibid.*, p. 38.

say, to the Jews dispersed in those countries who had been converted to Christianity. We must observe that the first Epistle was written in Babylon, and probably the second also, and that St. Peter's mission was to the circumcision; so that the writer, the Israelites in that old city with whom he was in daily communication, and the Israelites in the Asiatic provinces to whom his letters were addressed, were not only familiar with the writings of Moses, but also with the oriental traditions of Biblical events. Babylonia, too, was near the very cradle of the New-World population, and in the cities of Babylon and Erech (Urukh), if anywhere, those traditions would have been carefully preserved. As is noted on a preceding page,* there were some strongly-marked traditions of the Deluge both in Babylonia and in Assyria, Berosus and Abydenus being witnesses. Those who have read the standard treatises on the evidences of revealed religion, will remember that traditions of the same event, more than of any other, are to be found in many remote countries.

In his second Epistles to the converts of the Asiatic Dispersion, St. Peter inveighs against the pernicious ways of false prophets, false teachers and their disciples, and lays before his readers examples of God's displeasure—the fallen angels, the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha, and the people of "the old world." The Apostle reminds them how "He saved Noah, the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, when He had brought in a flood upon the world of ungodly" (2 Pet. ii. 5). He tells them that "*the world that then was*, ὁ τότε κόσμος, [not a single country] being overflowed with water, perished." And that the word *kosmos* is used in its proper sense is evident

* Page 31 *supra*.

by the very nature of his argument, for he proceeds to say that "*the heavens and the earth which are now*, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." This antithesis of then and now is the more complete, as "the world that then was," is equivalent with "the heavens of old, and *the earth standing out of the water and in the water*" (iii. 5—7). A deluge to overflow it must be universal.

St. Paul, in more brief and general terms, refers to the Mosaic history in his Epistle to the Hebrews: "By faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, prepared an ark to the saving of his house; by the which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness of faith" (Heb. xi. 7).

When the first sheets of this book were printed, the Assyrian and Babylonian traditions were referred to, yet only as quoted by Eusebius, with an acknowledgment that no actual monuments were in our possession. None such were known to the author, and Mr. George Smith, the discoverer of the one that is now before us, had not yet divulged the discovery, but was quietly pursuing the labour of decipherment. He had, however, communicated a few preparatory lines to the Biblical Archæological Society, translated by himself from another clay fragment in the British Museum, which certainly convey a description of the eve of the Deluge:—

"A command from the midst of the sea [*came out*]
A will from the midst of the heavens [*came down*]
A storm like *urkiti* the earth [*covered*]
To the four winds terror swept like a fire. It destroyed the people of the cities. It caused pain to take hold of their loins, and terror

in city and country it struck them silent.
Master and slave it cut down, and
in heaven and earth it rained like a hail-storm, and a flood accumulated.
To the sanctuaries of their gods they fled, and sought refuge
. . . their powerful . . . they prayed and like . . .
[*while they prayed*] also death . . ."*

On the evening of December 3rd, 1872, Mr. Smith read a paper to the Society on an Assyrian inscription on the Deluge, which was heard with intense interest by a large assemblage. In the palace of the kings of Assyria, buried under the mound of Koyunjik ever since the great conflagration and ruin of the year 660 before Christ, was an extensive library. It is believed to have been the library of *Assurbánipal*, or Sardanapalus, consisting of 20,000 tablets. The books of those days were tablets of baked clay. The work, of which this inscription is part, covered twelve of those tablets. Five of them are not found at all, and of the other seven not one remains unbroken. With immense labour, fragments of three copies have been collated, a shiver of one tablet often helping to supply a defective passage in another. By the colophons,—there being a colophon at the foot of each tablet,—it is ascertained that the work, which may be henceforth described as the History of Izdubár, was copied from an an older document belonging to Erech, or *Urukh*, the present Warka of the Arabs, in primitive Chaldee, a city of such remote antiquity, that the history here copied is now, probably, 3,600 years old. The name of the

* *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology.* Vol. I. p. 89.

FIG. 41.

THE DELUGE-TABLET.

(OBVERSE AND REVERSE.)

monarch in whose reign the history, or poem, was written, is not yet known. Indeed all the proper names, not being written phonetically, are of uncertain sound, and in the translation are for the present written provisionally. There are fragments of three different editions of the same document, and a collation of the variants, with other peculiarities, show that there must have been an original of extremely high antiquity, in a language of which some words of the primitive text were not perfectly understood by later copyists. But the scribe carefully records the original divisions of the lines. The literature of Assyria, it is also noted, was largely dependent on reproduction of the earlier literature of Babylonia. As Warka alone of the old Chaldæan cities remained faithful to Assurbánipal, in whose reign the library was furnished, it is probable that the original story was written there in the lifetime of Nimrod, great grandson of Noah.

Izdubár, as Mr. Smith calls him, hero of the tale, or legendary poem, lived soon after the flood, and the centre of most of his exploits was Urukh, undoubtedly one of the most ancient cities of the world. Four cities only are mentioned in these inscriptions, Babel, Erech (*Urukh*), Surippak, and Nipur. The first two of these, Babel and Erech, and Nipur, the last, were founded by Nimrod. According to the Talmud, a late, yet valuable witness, Nipur is the same as Calneh.

Izdubár, having conquered Belesu (or Bel ?), put on his crown, and wooed and won the princess Ishtar; but she had already a husband, a deity too, called the "Son of Life." In course of time, Izdubár fell into some illness, and came to fear death, man's last great enemy.

Now the Chaldæans believed in the existence of a patriarch named Sisit,—slightly changed by Abydenus, as

Eusebius quotes him, into *Sisithrus*, Σεισιθρος,* — who was supposed to have been translated, and to have attained to immortality without death. Izdubár, according to the notions of the time, resolved to seek Sisit, hoping to learn how he became immortal, and how he may himself attain to the like honour. Izdubár has a guiding dream, but the story of it is very mutilated, and after long wandering, he falls into company with a seaman named Ur-hamsi. Izdubár and Ur-hamsi fit out a vessel to continue the search for Sisit, and in this vessel they sail along for a month and fifteen days, when they arrive at some region near the mouth of the Euphrates, where Sisit is supposed to dwell. During this journey by water, Ur-hamsi tells Izdubár of the waters of death, of which he says, "The waters of death thy hands will not cleanse." When Izdubár and Ur-hamsi are approaching Sisit, they perceive that he is asleep; and here, again, the tablets are so mutilated that nothing can be made out. But it seems that a stream flows between them and him, and unable to cross the water which divides the mortal pilgrim from the immortal patriarch, Izdubár appears to have called to Sisit, and asked his momentous question concerning life and death. The question asked by Izdubár, and the first part of the answer of Sisit, are lost by the mutilation of the tenth tablet. The latter part of the speech of Sisit, which is preserved, relates to the danger of death, its universality, and so forth. It winds up as follows: "The goddess Mamitu, the maker of fate, to them their fate has appointed, she has fixed death and life, but of death the day is not known." Here closes the tenth tablet. The eleventh opens with a speech of Izdubár, who asks Sisit

* Euseb. Pamph. *Evangel. Præp.*, Lutitiæ, 1544. Lib. IX.

how he became immortal; and Sisit, in answering, relates the story of the flood, and assigns his own piety as the reason why he was translated. The following is Mr. Smith's version of the eleventh tablet:—

"[1]Izdubár after this manner said to Sisit afar off; [2]... Sisit. [3]The account do thou tell to me. [4]The account do thou tell to me [5]... to the midst to make war [6]... I come up after thee, [7]say how thou hast done it, and in the circle of the gods life thou hast gained. [8]Sisit after this manner said to Izdubár, [9]I will reveal to thee, Izdubár, the concealed story, [10]and the wisdom of the gods I will relate to thee. [11]The city Surippak, the city which thou hast established ... placed [12]was ancient, and the gods within it [13]dwelt, a tempest ... their god, the great gods [14]... Anu [15]... Bel [16]... Ninip [17]... lord of Hades, [18]their will revealed in the midst of ... [19]... hearing, and he spake to me thus. [20]'Suripakite, son of Ubaratutu, [21]make a great ship for thee ... [22]... I will destroy the sinners and life ... [23]cause to go in the seed of life, all of it to preserve them.

The ship which thou shalt make [25]... cubits shall be the measure of its length and [26]... cubits the amount of its breadth and its height. [27]Into the deep launch it.' [28]I perceived and said to Hea my lord: [29]'Hea, my lord, this that thou commandest me [30]I will perform, it shall be done. [31]... army and host.' [32]Hea opened his mouth and spake, and said to me his servant, [33]'... thou shalt say unto them [34]... he has turned from me and [35]... fixed ... [*Here there are about fifteen lines entirely lost. The absent passage probably described part of the building of the ark.*] [51]it ... [52]which in ... [53]strong ... I brought [54]on the fifth day ... it [55]in its circuit 14 measures ... its sides [56]14 measures it measured ... over it [57]I placed its roof on it ... I enclosed it [58]I rode on it, for the sixth time I ...

for the seventh time [59]into the restless deep . . . for the . . . time [60]its planks the waters within it admitted [61]I saw breaks and holes . . . my hand placed [62]three measures of bitumen. I poured over the outside [63]three measures of bitumen. I poured over the inside [64]three measures, the men carrying its baskets took . . . they fixed an altar. [65]I enclosed the altar . . . the altar for an offering, [66]two measures the altar . . . Pazziru the Pilot [67]for . . . slaughtered oxen [68]of . . . in that day also [69]. . . altar and grapes [70]. . . like the waters of a river and [71]. . . like the day I covered and [72]. . . when . . . covering my hand placed, [73]. . . and Shamas . . . the material of the ship completed. [74]. . . strong, and [75]reeds I spread above and below. [76]. . . went in two-thirds of it. [77]All I possessed I collected it. All I possessed I collected of silver. [78]All I possessed I collected of gold. [79]All I possessed I collected of the seed of life. The whole [80]I caused to go up into the ship, all my male and female servants, [81]the beasts of the field, the animals of the field, and the sons of the army all of them, I caused to go up. [82]A flood Shamas made, and [83]he spake, saying, 'In the night, I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily; [84]enter to the midst of the ship, and shut thy door.' [85]A flood he raised, and [86]he spake saying, 'In the night I will cause it to rain heavily.' [87]In the day that I celebrated his festival [88]the day which he had appointed; fear I had. [89]I entered to the midst of the ship, and shut my door. [90]To guide the ship, to Buzursadirabi the pilot, [91]the palace I gave to his hand. [92]The raging of a storm in the morning [93]arose, from the horizon of heaven extending and wide. [94]Vul in the midst of it thundered, and [95]Nebo and Saru went in front; [96]the throne-bearers went over mountains and plains; [97]the destroyer Nergal overturned; [98]Ninip went in front, and cast down; [99]the spirits carried destruc-

tion; [100]in their glory they swept the earth; [101]of Vul the flood reached to heaven; [102]the bright earth to a waste was turned; [103]the surface of the earth, like . . . it swept; [104]it destroyed all life from the face of the earth . . . [105]the strong tempest over the people reached to heaven. [106]Brother saw not his brother, it did not spare the people. In heaven [107]the gods feared the tempest, and [108]sought refuge. They ascended to the heaven of Anu. [109]The gods like dogs with tails hidden couched down. [110]Spake Ishtar a discourse, [111]uttered the great goddess her speech: [112]'The world to sin has turned, and [113]then I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil; [114]when I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil, [115]to evil were devoted all my people, and I prophesied [116]thus; I have begotten man, and let him not [117]like the sons of the fishes fill the sea.' [118]The gods concerning the spirits were weeping with her; [119]the gods in seats, seated in lamentation; [120]covered were their lips for the coming evil. [121]Six days and nights [122]passed, the wind, tempest and storm, overwhelmed. [123]On the seventh day in its course was calmed the storm, and all the tempest [124]which had destroyed like an earthquake, [125]quieted. The sea he caused to dry, and the wind and tempest ended. [126]I was carried through the sea. The doer of evil [127]and the whole of mankind who turned to sin, [128]like reeds their corpses floated. [129]I opened the window and the light broke in, over my refuge [130]it passed, I sat still and [131]over my refuge came peace. [132]I was carried over the shore, at the boundary of the sea. [133]For twelve measures it ascended over the land. [134]To the country of Nizir went the ship, [135]the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass over it was not able. [136]The first day and the second day, the mountain of Nizir the same. [137]The third day and the fourth day, the mountain of Nizir the

same. [138]The fifth and sixth, the mountain of Nizir the same. [139]On the seventh day in the course of it [140]I sent forth a dove, and it left. The dove went and searched, and [141]a resting-place it did not find, and it returned. [142]I sent forth a swallow, and it left. The swallow went and searched, and [143]a resting-place it did not find, and it returned. [144]I sent forth a raven, and it left. [145]The raven went, and the corpses on the waters it saw, and [146]it did eat, it swam, and wandered away, and did not return. [147]I sent the animals forth to the four winds. I poured out a libation, [148]I built an altar on the peak of the mountain, [149]by sevens herbs I cut, [150]at the bottom of them, I placed reeds, pines and simgar. [151]The gods collected at its burning, the gods collected at its good burning. [152]The gods like sumbe over the sacrifice gathered. [153]From of old also, the great God in his course, [154]the great brightness of Anu had created; when the glory [155]of these gods, as of ukni stone, on my countenance I could not endure; [156]in those days I prayed that for ever I might not endure. [157]May the gods come to my altar; [158]may Bel not come to my altar, [159]for he did not consider, and had made a tempest, [160]and my people he had consigned to the deep [161]from of old, also Bel in his course [162]saw the ship, and went Bel with anger filled to the gods and spirits; [163]'Let not any come out alive, let not a man be saved from the deep.' [164]Ninip his mouth opened and spake, and said to the warrior Bel, [165]'Who then will be saved?' Hea the words understood [166]and Hea knew all things. [167]Hea his mouth opened and spake, and said to the warrior Bel, [168]'Thou prince of the gods, warrior, [169]when thou art angry, a tempest thou makest, [170]the doer of sin did his sin, the doer of evil did his evil, [171]may the exalted not be broken, may the captive not be delivered; [172]instead of

thee making a tempest, may lions increase and men be reduced; [173]instead of thee making a tempest, may leopards increase and men be reduced; [174]instead of thee making a tempest, may a famine happen, and the country be destroyed; [175]instead of thee making a tempest, may pestilence increase, and men be destroyed.' [176]I did not peer into the wisdom of the gods, [177]reverent and attentive, a dream they sent, and the wisdom of the gods he heard. [178]When his judgment was accomplished, Bel went up to the midst of the ship [179]he took my hand and brought me out, me [180]he brought out, he caused to bring my wife to my side, [181]he purified the country, he established in a covenant and took the people [182]in the presence of Sisit and the people; [183]when Sisit and his wife and the people to be like the gods were carried away, [184]then dwelt Sisit in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers; [185]they took me and in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers they seated me, [186]when to thee whom the gods have chosen, thee, and [187]the life which thou hast sought after, thou shalt gain. [188]This do, for six days and seven nights [189]like I say also, in bonds bind him [190]the way like a storm shall be laid upon him. [191]Sisit after this manner said to his wife [192]I announce that the chief who grasps at life [193]the way like a storm shall be laid upon him; [194]his wife after this manner said to Sisit afar off, [195]purify him, and let the man be sent away, [196]the road that he came, may he return in peace, [197]the great gate open, and may he return to his country. [198]Sisit after this manner said to his wife; [199]The cry of a man alarms thee, [200]this do, his scarlet cloth place on his head.' [201]And the day when he ascended the side of the ship [202]she did, his scarlet cloth she placed on his head; [203]and the day when he ascended on the side of the ship, [*The next four lines describe seven*

things done to Izdubár before he was purified. The passage is obscure, and does not concern the flood.] [208]Izdubár after this manner said to Sisit afar off, [209]'This way, she has done, I come up [210]joyfully, my strength thou givest me.' [211]Sisit after this manner, said to Izdubár [212]'. . . thy scarlet cloth [213]. . . I have lodged thee' [214]. . . [*The five following lines, which are mutilated, refer again to the seven matters for purifying Izdubár. Mr. Smith does not translate them.*] [219]Izdubár after this manner said to Sisit afar off [220]'. . . Sisit to thee may we not come?' [*The text, again, is much mutilated. Lines* 221 *to* 223 *mention some one who was taken, and dwelt with death. Lines* 224 *to* 235 *give a speech of Sisit to the seaman Urhamsi, directing him how to cure Izdubár, who appears to have suffered from some skin disease. Izdubár was to be dipped in the sea, when beauty was to spread over his skin once more. In lines* 236 *to* 241, *the carrying out of these directions and the cure of Izdubár are recorded. The tablet then reads as follows*]: [242]Izdubár and Urhamsi rode in the boat, [243]where they placed them they rode. [244]His wife after this manner said to Sisit afar off, [245]'Izdubár goes away, he is satisfied, he performs [246]that which thou hast given him, and returns to his country.' [247]And he heard, and after Izdubár [248]he went to the shore. [49]Sisit after this manner said to Izdubár; [250]'Izdubár, thou goest away, thou art satisfied, thou performest [251]that which I have given thee, and thou returnest to thy country. [252]I have revealed to thee, Izdubár, the concealed story.'"

The remainder of the tablet is exceedingly mutilated, but Mr. Smith gathers that Izdubár, after hearing the conclusion of the speech of Sisit, took great stones, and piled them up as a memorial of these events. After this, there is no further allusion to the Deluge, and the 289th line closed the inscription. The colophon which follows,

states that this is the eleventh tablet, giving the history of Izdubár, and that it is a copy of the ancient inscription.

If this document were a literal record of the Deluge, such a record as might have been written when the inmates of the Ark were all, or most of them, alive, it would be proper to compare it with the clearly historic narrative of the Book of Genesis. It might also be collated with Berosus and others, all dependent on older authorities. But it is a poem, not a history. The personages are gods and men. The scene is part in heaven, and part below. A dream, a translation and a pilgrimage, afford scope for imagination, and all must admit that such a composition cannot be fairly admitted to literal comparison with any passage in the Book of Genesis. In other words, the History of the Deluge cannot be corrected by the legend of Izdubár. What, then, is the value of this tablet?

The tablet is invaluable. The original poem, if such we may call it, might not be so old as Nimrod, but the traces of a remotely archaic origin are very strong indeed, and it must have belonged to a generation but little, if at all, younger than the days of "the mighty hunter before the Lord, the beginning of whose kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar" (Gen. x. 9, 10). It expresses, no doubt, a popular conception of the Deluge at the time when it was written, while the transcription of the tale from the autograph, probably in successive copies, down to the reign of nearly the last king of Nineveh, is a signal proof of general acceptance and admiration. In this one respect, it might be classed with the Edda of the North, although it is immeasurably superior to the Edda in every other. It speaks, as we may well believe, the general belief of a

people who worshipped the Sun under the name of *Shamas*, and Baal and Ashtaroth under the names of *Belesu* and *Ishtar*. It describes a good man who, for his piety, was preserved, together with his family, while all were drowned in a Deluge. It represents Noah under a name which, for the present, is read *Sisit*. The construction of the Ark is recorded with immaterial variation from that given in the Book of Genesis, and even that variation may diminish when the Assyrian text shall be more fully edited by means of other tablets. But as it is, trifling discrepancies of name, number, and geography are as nothing while the main facts are identical; as nothing when set against the enormous confusion of real and mythic which characterises the entire composition. Nay, this very confusion is a feature common to the "history of Izdubár," and the actual state of religion and society during the two generations of Noah, contemporaneous with this history. The pure worship of Noah the righteous, the religion which he received through the lineage of Seth, was in unceasing conflict with the Zabianism that appeared again in the land of Shinar, where temples to the Sun were erected, and where Ur (*Light*) אור, was at once the name of the god and of the city.

The Warka legend, we must note, is a monument confirmatory of the Mosaic account of the pre-diluvian population, and suggests a careful study of the Hebrew and Assyrian texts with reference to the giants of our English version, the *fallen ones*, נפלים, and the *mighty ones*, גבורים, of the Hebrew original, taking into account also the New Testament mention of *fallen angels*. Was there any plague of evil spirits in that age, that supplied the imagery of hateful gods and associated spirits in the History of Izdubár? The question may seem idle, but

any investigation that it leads to will have its use to help us out of the region of mere conjecture, when again we set about expounding Genesis vi. 4, and our congregations wait again to hear what is meant by the sons of God marrying the daughters of men, a statement which at this moment seems just like the tale of the man Izdubár marrying the goddess Ishtar. So may research into the mythology of the tablet more fully demonstrate the fearful truth, that "the imagination of the thoughts" of man's heart before the Deluge, as well as after it, was only evil, and that continually. Occupied in such an enquiry, we may be excused from perplexing ourselves over irreconcilable discrepancies in the sizes of the arks of Noah and of Sisit, and in the duration of two floods, with the intrusion of a swallow between the dove and the raven, which is little or nothing in comparison with grotesque marriages of goddesses and men.

After all, the reality is not lost under the veil of Chaldæan imagery. The historic substance is clearly discernible through the mythic shadows, just as indelible original writing is discerned on the page of a palimpsest. Here, read it as you may, we have "the seed of life" preserved in the Ark, ready to be sown upon the void wastes of a new world, that man, and beast and bird may not eventually perish. Here is a confession, written five thousand years ago, that the population of the world was drowned for sin—that death is a penalty inflicted on mankind for sin—that man is unclean, but may be purified—mortal, but may attain to immortality. As to the facts recorded by the heaven-instructed writer of the Pentateuch, we see them reflected in the tradition of the Chaldæans, known to be worshippers of an uncreated God. A floating ship, stranded on a mountain-side. A good man abiding safely

amidst the thundering, the flood, the tempest. A good man seated happy and thankful under the serene heavens, after the calming of the winds and the quieting of the ocean. The voice of Hea assuring him of peace. Sacrifice offered upon a newly-erected altar on the mountain-peak, and the Great God in brightness passing over it. The seventh day, once and again distinguished by tokens of mercy; a day of light and joy, with communion between God and man restored. The sacrifice is accepted, and the covenant is made!

Many others caught the same tradition, but it never was so clear as on this Assyrian clay, albeit they unitedly serve to show how widely spread had been the intelligence of the Deluge. Then Moses, though he came many ages later than the original of the Assyrian tablet, produced genealogies which must have been carefully treasured, with a history that was either marvellously preserved from the accidents of time and corruptions of tradition, or breathed into his mind by immediate inspiration. In either case divine intervention must be acknowledged, and however Moses was enabled to write it, it is a plain and consistent narrative of communion with the One, True, and Living God, and of the several stages of the great event. Living far away from Babylonia and Chaldæa, the sacred historian wrote such accounts in relation to those countries as harmonise most perfectly with all that is intelligible in the monuments lately disinterred. As for the story on the tablet, taken as a traditional account, dressed in the guise of mythology and poetry, it is all the more valuable for what some call the discrepancies with the Mosaic history, and recognising its providential preservation, we again repeat that it is invaluable.

On one important point this Legend of Izdubár agrees

with the Pentateuch and the New Testament. They all represent the Flood as destroying the whole world—overflowing all that was then inhabited, at least. The Chaldæan tradition much differs from the Mosaic history in representing Sisit as building his ship on the sea-side, and launching it into the sea, while Noah, according to Moses, built his in the interior of the country. Noah's ark is lifted up from the earth as the waters rise. The ship of Sisit rises with the swelling sea, and then floats inland on the advancing tide. "I was carried over the shore," Sisit is made to say, "at the boundary of the sea. For twelve measures it ascended over the land. To the country of Nizir went the ship. The mountain of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass over it was not able." But if this had been a mere inundation, caused by long-continued rain, sending down torrents from the mountains, and causing the Tigris and Euphrates to overflow, the water would have rushed away seaward, the land-flood losing itself in the ocean. The water could not have risen twelve measures above the land, the current flowing in from the sea, and carrying the "ship" northward towards the mountains of Armenia. Come whence it might, no land-flood on any continental district would so gradually subside without such a torrent setting seaward as to carry all away with it, along the courses of the rivers or valleys, but, according to this tradition, without any such current, but by gentle subsidence, for many and many days, the ark floated stationary near the mountain side, as if the distinction between land and ocean was not yet recovered, but one all-prevailing ocean was gradually sinking, while Sisit, waiting and watching in the ship, sent out the birds in search of land. It is quite conceivable that an unceasing downfall of rain might cause a great flood over

all Mesopotamia, consequent on the swelling of the two great rivers, their tributaries being overcharged; but no man writing his account of such a flood would so describe it as has the author of the History of Izdubár. He had in his thoughts the very kind of Deluge pictured so clearly in the Bible. He speaks of the sea rising and inundating the land, which agrees with the authentic account of Moses, that "all the fountains of the great deep [*the sea*] were broken up, and the windows of heaven [*the sky*] were opened" (Gen. vii. 11). The *deep* and the *heaven* are again placed in apposition (viii. 2), when "the fountains of the deep, and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained." In exact accordance with this twofold origin of the Deluge, is the unpublished text partly translated by Mr. Smith, where we read that "a command came out *from the midst of the sea*, and a will came down *from the midst of the heavens*." All this is utterly inconsistent with the idea of a merely local inundation.

Then with regard to the authenticity of the account in the Book of Genesis, it is sufficient to observe that Moses certainly lived later by many ages than the author of the original tablets, and in Egypt and Arabia he might, like Berosus and Abydenus, hear many fanciful accounts of that mysterious visitation; but the Spirit of the Lord "was upon him," as it was, ages later, upon David, to teach him the pattern of a future temple, and "make him understand in writing by his hand upon him" (1 Chron. xxviii. 19). The same spirit of inspiration instructed the historian of the Deluge to distinguish between the fabulous and the true, and to record that only which had actually occurred, without omission of any material incident. The author of these pages cannot doubt that all the sacred

writers, of whose inspiration there is otherwise sufficient evidence, were in like manner preserved from error in matters of historic fact.

"*Carmen Christo quasi Deo.*"

Although the date of the fourth Gospel be not certainly known, it is generally agreed that it could not have been written until very near the end of the first century. One could not affirm that it was written so late as the year 100, after St. John had returned from Patmos and taken up his abode for the last time in Ephesus. Yet this is not improbable. It is, however, certain that the distinctive mission of "the disciple whom Jesus loved" was to proclaim His Godhead, by presenting such a narrative of His life, ministry and ascension, and by so discoursing on the evidences of His divine nature, as to declare beyond all his fellows "the testimony of Jesus Christ" (Rev. i. 2).

Now it is observable that the last years of this Apostle's life fell in the reign of Trajan, that he is said to have borne his last and greatest testimony at this time, in the Gospel which bears his name, and was written in Ephesus or the neighbourhood; and that a Roman Proconsul, resident in Bithynia, a neighbouring province, bore witness, a very few years later (A.D. 107), to the prominence then given by the Bithynian Christians to the same great doctrine. It would thus appear from the Gospel, and from the testimony of Pliny, as well as from the Apocalypse, that the last decade, closing in the year 107, was distinguished in that part of the Christian Church by a great exaltation of Christ in the faith and worship of His people. The letter from Pliny the Younger, written to the Emperor Trajan, has so purely

monumental a character in relation to the primitive Christian faith, that it must necessarily be noted here.

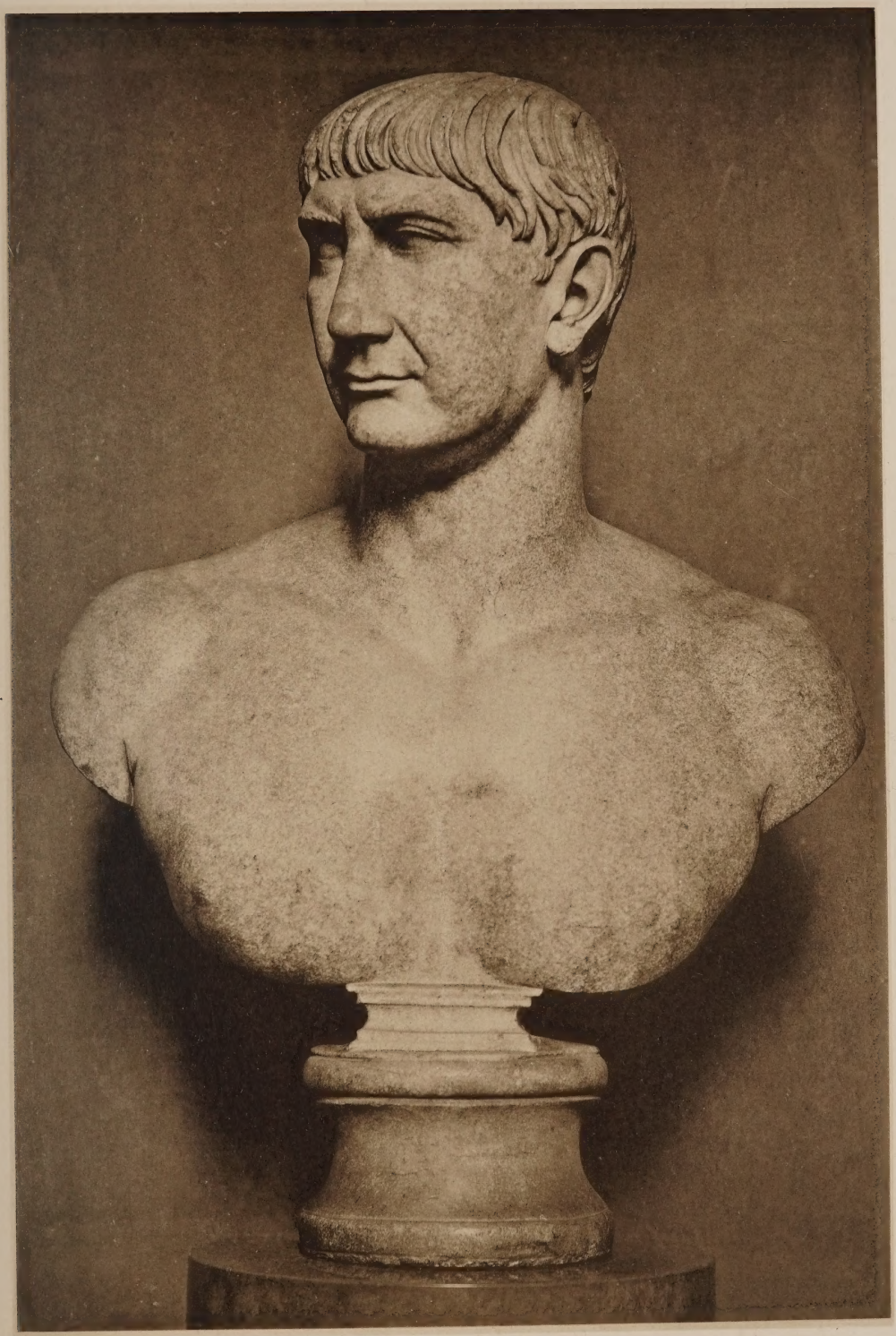
In the exercise of his functions of Proconsul, Pliny took part in a ruthless persecution of the Christians. Like others, he treated their faith as a state-offence, and considered them as existing quite beyond the range of mercy, or even of common justice. Yet there were many reasons why he should observe certain judicial forms. Perhaps weary of going through those forms incessantly, and overwhelmed with the multitude of cases poured into his hands by informers, he wrote to Trajan for instruction how to proceed, and the memorable epistle contains some important passages. It had been his practice to *punish* every one reported to him as a Christian, and proved to be such, and to *kill* every one who, being convicted, refused to offer sacrifices, with wine and frankincense, to the images of the gods, and to the image of Trajan, which was also set before him.* The Christians were all required to call upon the gods, make supplication to the emperor's image, and revile Christ.

When questioned as to their religion and practices, the confessors all agreed in answering, that the whole sum of their fault or error had been no more than that they were accustomed to hold their meetings before sun-rise on a stated day, and *recite together, responsively, a hymn to Christ as God* (carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem), binding themselves by a solemn oath not to commit any crime, such as theft, robbery, adultery, promise-breaking, or refusal to return a pledge. Pliny, not yet satisfied, or not choosing to appear so, caused two young women, called *ministræ*, or deaconesses, to be put

* We give a photographic copy of a bust of Trajan.

FIG. 42.

TRAJAN



to the torture, but no torment could force them to any denial or equivocation. Again they were urged to worship Trajan and the gods, but nothing moved them. Thus does the Roman Governor of Pontus and Bithynia register the fact, that the Christians under his jurisdiction persisted in honouring the Son even as they honoured the Father, and chanted their antiphone to Christ, even as unto God.*

Apocalyptic Imagery.

Before leaving the New Testament, the author would ask attention to the Apocalypse. As the book is prophetic, not historical,—the only event mentioned in it being the deportation of St. John to Patmos, to labour as a convict "for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ,"—historical confirmation is not what we shall derive from contemporaneous monuments; and ordinary historical narrative or allusion is not counted monumental, as the word is understood in the present volume. Yet the very monuments made use of in the preceding pages, and many others as yet undiscovered, may be expected to contribute much towards a surer exposition of the text of this mysterious book than our commentators have attained. There is a language of symbol quite independent of any dialect of speech, and the Assyrian and other pictures of the East will probably yield the means for understanding what we have not yet been able to explain in the symbolism of the Apocalyptic visions.

One example with a very few words of observation may suffice. Read the following:—

"There arose a smoke of the pit, as the smoke of a

---

* Plin. *Sec. Epistt.* x. 97.

great furnace, and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit. And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth: and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power. And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree, but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads. And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man. And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it, and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them. *And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men. And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions. And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle. And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months. And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit,*" etc. (Rev. ix. 2—11).

Now though ἄκρις is translated literally, and could not be otherwise, it cannot be literally understood. The description in the text indicates an object of considerable magnitude, called by the name of locust, but in size colossal. In form it resembles not any living thing, but is very much like some of the composite images in the Assyrian sculptures, more than in any other, although found in the Egyptian, the Greek, and even the Roman, with characteristic diversities of conception in each. But in the Old

and New Testament the Assyrian types appear to be followed most nearly. Here the "locust" of the Apocalypse has the body of a horse, the head of a man, with the hair of a woman, and the crown of a king. Having the head erect like that of an Assyrian human-headed bull, the breast is covered with a breast-plate in readiness for battle. It has wings as those figures have, and the face is terrible with lion's teeth. The wings are eminently symbolic, perhaps denoting dominion—power—swiftness. Their flapping makes a noise like the rolling of a chariot. The monster has a sting in its tail, as if it were the tail of a serpent. Like a demon, it hurts men.

For the hatefulness of its appearance it may find comparison in a slab in the Nimrud Gallery, in the British Museum (No. 29), where a winged monster, made up of man, beast, reptile and bird is supposed to represent a demon, and is attacked by a human figure, also winged, the group seeming to represent a power of light in conflict with a power of darkness. The *bas-relief* of Asshur-izir-pal, with the eagle-headed and winged figures, and the sacred tree, with other symbolic forms in the same collection, present a striking correspondence with what was seen in the visions of the Old Testament prophets, in the cherubim of the Temple at Jerusalem, and in the visions of St. John. As yet the appropriation of the imagery to purposes of Biblical exposition has been only conjectural, and frequently fantastic; but when Assyrian writings shall have been sufficiently translated, there will probably be abundant material for sound and intelligent interpretation.

Professor Rawlinson describes Asshur-izir-pal as first of those kings who employed mimetic art in the decoration of their palaces, and says that the sculptured marbles built

around his halls are the first known of the kind. They are certainly pre-eminent examples of this ideal imagery, and are mentioned here as material for special archæological research, so soon as the scholars now more deeply engaged in the study of Assyrian literature, and others who are sure to succeed them, shall have brought us the long-desired fruit of their researches.

This king, we must further observe, could hardly appear amongst the personages of Old Testament history. For although his reign was long, his power great, and conquests numerous, his expeditions were chiefly conducted beyond the Tigris, eastward of Mesopotamia. One of his campaigns only was in Syria and Phœnicia, in the year 882 before Christ, but even then he did not touch Judæa or Samaria, and according to the provisional chronology now before us,* his reign closed in 858; whereas Pul, (*Vul-lush*) according to the same computation, first brought an Assyrian army to Samaria in 771, or 112 years later. Vul-lush and his successors were all sufficiently cruel to strike the Israelites with terror; but if Asshur-izir-pal had been their first invader, with his unbridled fury let loose, not only would the respite allowed to them have been far shorter than it was, but their sufferings would have been incalculably greater. How intensely savage this king was may be gathered from a single passage of an inscription, wherein he coolly recounts his deeds of pitiless vengeance. He had taken a revolted city, called Tela (B.C. 882), and his doings are thus recorded:—"Their men, young and old, I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands; of others I cut off the noses, ears and lips; of the young men's ears I made a heap, of the old men's heads I built a minaret.

* See Appendix E.

I exposed their heads as a trophy in front of their city. The male children and the female children I burnt in the flames. The city I destroyed, and consumed, and burnt with fire."*

It may be expected that the Nineveh tablets, and the inscribed reverses of the Nimrud marbles, will be found sufficiently full to tell us what such imagery as that of the Assyrian tyrant, and of Isaiah, and of the captivity and post-captivity prophets, and of John the Divine, can be more confidently understood to mean.

---

* Professor Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, Second Edition, II. 85, *n.*

TRANSLATIONS.

"WHATSOEVER things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope." But that which is written must be legible, or it will not be read. The sorrowful and perplexed will derive neither hope, nor patience, nor comfort from what they cannot understand; or, which comes to the same thing, what is not intelligibly set before them.

"Stay yourselves and wonder," said Isaiah, "cry ye out and cry. They are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not with strong drink. For the Lord hath poured upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes. The prophets and your rulers, the seers hath He covered. And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed" (Is. xxix. 9—11). The spirit of deep sleep was at once the consequence and the penalty of hiding God's word from the people. All their national calamities followed from this beginning; but the remedy was clearly promised: "In that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness" (v. 18).

The words of "the Book" were originally given in the languages of the readers, Hebrew with Chaldee, and Greek; while the occasional use of Chaldee in the Old Testament is very remarkable. When the Prophet Jeremiah, addressing the Jews in the Babylonian captivity,

bids them denounce the idolatry of their captors in these words: "*Thus shall ye say unto them, The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens,*" he writes the sentence in Chaldee. Every other word in the book of this prophet is written in Hebrew, but inasmuch as it would have been useless for Hebrew to be spoken to the Babylonians, and as the captivity was too recent for the Jews in general to be trusted as interpreters in that strange land, this solemn declaration is written in the tongue of the Babylonians, that there may be no mistake, nor any alteration in delivery (Jer. x. 11). So Daniel, after learning the wisdom and language of the Chaldæans, used their language in communication with the people, and therefore full half his book is written in Chaldee. For the sake, perhaps, of documentary correctness, part of the Book of Ezra is also written in Chaldee.

Use of Plain Speech.

Having already spoken of the Septuagint Greek Version, the Samaritan, and the Chaldee Targums before Christ, we have now to observe, that the first propagators of the Gospel constantly provided translations of the Bible for those whom they gathered into Christian communion. Faith came by hearing the glad tidings of redemption delivered with familiar earnestness, and was kept alive by constant instruction in the same spirit. Holy Scripture was not yet used conventionally to furnish texts for homilies. Its golden sentences were mingled in the most eloquent appeals of sacred oratory—oratory *sacred*, and therefore not scholastic. They were caught and laid up in memory by thousands, to be afterwards repeated the whole world

over. Read in private—recited in familiar conversation—adopted as axioms of eternal truth, and as authoritative rules for the guidance of daily life—recognised formulæ for the confession of faith—oracles pronounced by friendly voices to inspirit the confessor whom they attended on his way to martydom—last words breathed from the lips of the dying—the articulate utterances of divine instruction in an exhaustless diversity of dialect, with application to all matters of concern for time and for eternity. Bible-speech, therefore, might not be dead. It was to be uttered in the living and familiar language of Apostles; most exact, and therefore most true. Without such power of language, a Dionysius or a Justin would have been but a barbarian to his brethren in Ethiopia, in Britain, or in the East.

It is true that we admire the choice of Greek by the writers of the New Testament, because of its fitness for an exact register of thought, and suitability for the utterance of ideas proper to Christian theology. It was familiar to the most highly educated and profoundly thoughtful men of the Augustan age and in the earlier centuries of Christian history, and is likely to be known to the best educated of mankind even to the end of time. All this is true, but it could scarcely follow on this account alone, that Greek would be made the medium of teaching the Gospel to the general population of Italy. Cicero himself, although he freely admitted Greek words into his vocabulary, was jealous for the purity of Latin, and sharply condemned the folly of speaking Greek to Romans. He would have every Latin speaker observe the "comity of discourse,"* and not use Greek like a pedant while every

* Ut enim sermone eo debemus uti qui notus est nobis, ne (ut quidam) Gaæca verba inculcantes, jure optimo irrideamur (Cic. *de Offic.*, Lib. I).

FIG. 43.

GREEK ORIGINAL OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

FROM THE SINAITIC MS.

κατὰ ἰωαννην

λγ ΕΝΑΡΧΗΗΝΟΛΟΓΟC
ΚΑΙΟΛΟΓΟCΗΝ
ΠΡΟCΤΟΝΘ̄ΝΚΑΙ
Θ̄CΗΝΟΛΟΓΟCΟΥ
ΤΟCΗΝΕΝΑΡΧΗ
ΠΡΟCΤΟΝΘ̄ΝΠᾹ
ΤΑΔΙΑΥΤΟΥΕΓΕΝΕ
ΤΟΚΑΙΧΩΡΙCΑΥΤΟΥ
ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΟΥΔΕΝ
ΟΓΕΓΟΝΕΝΕΝΑΥ
ΤΩΖΩΗΕCΤΙΝ
ΚΑΙΗΖΩΗΗΝΤΟ
ΦΩCΤΩΝΑΝΘΡΩ
ΠΩΝΚΑΙΤΟΦΩC
ΕΝΤΗCΚΟΤΙΑΦΑΙ
ΝΕΙΚΑΙΗCΚΟΤΙ
ΑΑΥΤΟΟΥΚΑΤΕ
ΑΑΒΕΝ·
βγ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΑΝΘΡΩ
ΠΟCΑΠΕCΤΑΛΜΕ

Roman could best understand him in the common language of the country. He left that affectation to certain Italian ladies, who afforded sport to the satirist by finding a Greek name for everything.

The sentence of Cicero is the dictate of common sense.* In harmony with common sense is true religion, and we learn it yet more surely from divinely inspired counsels and examples (1 Cor. xiv.).

Our Lord Himself spoke in the same vernacular as His disciples and other inhabitants of Palestine, and sometimes with so great solemnity and force of meaning that the Evangelist, although writing in Greek, preserved the very words untranslated, and they serve us as memorials of His carefulness to be understood by all who heard Him. So He exclaimed, when on the cross, "*Lamá Sabáchthaní*," ܠܡܐ ܫܒܩܬܢܝ. So He reserved a technical word, ܩܘܪܒܢܐ *corban* (a gift), to convey therewith a keener censure to the Pharisees who loved too well to hear it spoken. To communicate an impression of closer sympathy to a man who for the first time listened to an articulate human voice, being miraculously cured of deafness, and to encourage him to cultivate the new-found faculty of speech, He gently said in plain Syriac, *Be thou opened*, ܐܬܦܬܚ. Calling a rude Galilæan to himself, he addressed him by his household name, *Son of Yóna*, ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ and to give two others a title which their neighbours could fairly understand, he named them *Boán-ergués* ܒܢܝ ܪܓܫ (Sons of Thunder). To an ever-prevailing sin He applied a familiar name which

* Well expressed by the last continuator of the *Annals of Baronius*. *Validissimis rationibus permoti consilium inivimus pontificatus Clementis XIV. Pontificis Maximi separatim edere ac vernaculo idiomate conscribere, quarum illa præcipua fuit,* ut ita utilitati omnium magis consuleretur. *Augustinus Theiner. Clem. XIV. Epistolæ et Brevia Selectiora. Parisiis,* 1852. *Præfat.*

explained it fully to public apprehension ܡܲܡܘܿܢܵܐ *money*, called MAMMON in common language. To waking a child from the sleep of death, He said, as with fatherly authority, (Talitha cumi) *Damsel, arise,* ܛܠܝܬܵܐ ܩܘܿܡܝ. Not to lose the vigour of an Oriental surname expressive of a firm and unwavering nature, He called his manly disciple (Kēphas) *Rock,* ܟܹܐܦܵܐ. To express His own filial love (for the sake of those who heard Him), He appealed to His Eternal Father with an idiomatic vocative of the most endearing name, most reverently spoken, ܐܒܵܐ (Abá) *O my Father!* And with like reverence and love for Him, the disciples were wont to couch an admonitory sentence under the two words (Maran athá), ܡܪܢ ܐܬܵܐ *Our Lord cometh.* And consistently with their Master's original intention, and with equal concern for Gentile as for Jew, these sayings are adopted into the language of Greece first, and also into all the languages of the known world, to be published wherever the voice of the Evangelist is heard.

St. Paul, following the example of his Lord, speaks publicly on one memorable occasion in this very language; and when the angry "Jews heard that he spake unto them in the Hebrew tongue, they kept the greater silence."

Syriac for the East.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew is believed to have been written in Jerusalem Syriac, then called Hebrew, for the use of the Jews and Syrians, and also in Greek, as if to insure wider circulation among the Egyptian Jews, whose customary language was Greek, and for Greek-speaking Gentiles.* Both the Old Testa-

* BAR HEBRÆUS in his *History of the Dynasties* (Asseman. Bibl. Orient.

ment and the New were rendered into Syriac very early; but when, or by whom, the Old Testament version was made is not easy to conjecture. As for the New Testament, it is evident that the Gospels were all read in Syriac soon after they were written, and that the remaining Scriptures were translated for the Syrian congregations with equal promptitude. Hegesippus, who lived very near the time of the Apostles,* *published certain things out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, both out of the Syriac, and, in particular, out of the Hebrew dialect* (of Syriac). The work of Hegesippus was almost contemporaneous with the original publication of the Gospels, and he was well qualified to test the accuracy of such a statement before repeating it, if it did not entirely fall within the range of his immediate knowledge. He was a Jew by birth, but by faith and confession a Christian, a plain and earnest preacher, a man of wide experience, and author of several books that much resembled the Holy Scriptures in style and spirit. He collected much information from eminent disciples at Jerusalem in the Apostolic age. He travelled from the East to Rome by way of Greece, visited many bishops in the course of his journey, and testified to the unity of belief universally prevailing, saying, that in every (episcopal) succession, and in every city, the very doctrine was taught which *the Law* pro-

---

I. 476), says that Syriac, in his time, was distinguished into three dialects, of which the most elegant is the Aramæan, spoken by the inhabitants of Edessa, Havan, and Outer Syria (or Mesopotamia). Next to that is the Palestinian dialect, spoken in Damascus, Mount Lebanon, and Minor Syria (or Syria Proper). But the most impure is the Nabathæan Chaldee dialect of the Assyrian mountaineers, and the villagers of Arak.

* . . . ἐκ δε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου, καί τοῦ Συρίακου, καί ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν.—Euseb. H. E. IV. 22.

claims, and *the Prophets*, and *the Lord.** What *Law* means, and *Prophets*, is perfectly clear; it therefore follows that *Lord*, in this connection, must mean *the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* From the passage now quoted, it is equally plain that Hegesippus wrote concerning two Syriac translations, one, perhaps, in the purest Aramaic of Edessa, and the other in the more Hebraic dialect of Jerusalem. These two dialects, then, would supply all the Syrian congregations from South Palestine to Edessa, and Outer Syria in the north. Thus early did all Syrian Christians, except only a few, on the remotest borders of Eastern Christendom, possess the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in their respective dialects.

From the Curetonian manuscripts, reputed to have been written in the fifth century, we produce two *facsimilia*, taken from the originals for this volume, and may be almost certain that we have here fragments of one of the Syriac versions mentioned by Hegesippus, originally read in Syria, long preserved in the Natron Convent in Egypt, and partly published by Dr. Cureton before his death. This is actual evidence that in primitive Christian congregations, and no doubt also in families of the same century, the word of God was read in the vernacular language of Syria, the same language that was spoken by our Lord, as noted on a preceding page; and certainly it would be expounded in the same to those who knew not Greek.

This most ancient version is older than the *Peshito*, or "simple" translation first brought into Europe, and printed by Widmanstadt, in Vienna, in 1555. It certainly is not inferior to the Peshito, and for the verification of the

* . . . ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει, καὶ οἱ προφῆται, καὶ ὁ κύριος.—Euseb. *H. E.*, iv. 22.

FIG. 44.

SYRIAC OLD TESTAMENT.

ꝺ ꝺꝛꝺꝛꝺꝛ

FIG. 45.

SYRIAC NEW TESTAMENT.

ਸਾਰਾ ਸਰੀਰ ਕੰਬਣ ਲੱਗ ਪਿਆ।
ਮੈਂ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਕਿਹਾ, ਤੂੰ ਕੀ ਕਰ ਰਹੀ ਏਂ?
ਉਹ ਕੁਝ ਨਹੀਂ ਬੋਲੀ।
ਮੈਂ ਫੇਰ ਕਿਹਾ, ਤੂੰ ਕੀ ਕਰ ਰਹੀ ਏਂ?
ਉਹ ਚੁੱਪ ਰਹ

Greek text, being earlier, is of superior value. It must, therefore, at least equally deserve the following commendation pronounced on the Peshito, by John David Michaelis, and accordant with the experience of the author during many years of habitual reference. "It has none of the stiffness of a translation, but is written with the ease and fluency of an original; and this excellence of style must be ascribed to its antiquity, and to its being written in a city that was the residence of Syrian kings. It is true that the Syriac version, like all human productions, is not destitute of faults, and, what is not to be regarded as a blemish, it frequently differs from the modern modes of explanation; but I know of none that is so free from error, and none that I consult with so much confidence in cases of difficulty and doubt."*

Extremely ancient manuscripts lately brought from the same place contain much information relating to the primitive Syrian Church. Gregory Bar Hebræus, writing in the thirteenth century after authorities of like antiquity, says that messengers were sent from Edessa to Palestine to translate the sacred books, and yet more particularly, that "the New Testament was translated in the time of Thaddæus, and Abgar, king of Edessa." It is also worthy of remark that Bar Hebræus assumes the apostolic origin of the Syriac version of the New Testament to be certain; for while he quotes three opinions concerning the date of the Syriac Old Testament, and gives no certain preference to any, he speaks of this apostolic translation of the New as a known and acknowledged fact.† Such a missionary as Thaddæus, one of our Lord's disciples,

* *Introduction to the New Testament*, by J. D. Michaelis. Translated by Herbert Marsh, D.D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough. Vol. I. pp. 40, 41.

† Westcott, *Can. N. T.*, p. 207.

rearing from its very foundation the first Christian Church in Osrohēne, having the unanimous acceptance of a willing people, with the zealous support of a truly converted king — such a missionary, enforcing on all of them his Lord's command to search the Scriptures, stimulated, if stimulation were needed, by the famous example of the old Alexandrian translators, and the best of the Chaldee Targumists, could not fail to make the best possible use of the Syriac Gospel written by his fellow disciple Matthew, and either he or others would certainly produce or procure the other Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and in due time St. Paul's inspired writings rendered into the language of all Syria.

All this, it is affirmed, Thaddaeus did. Among these Curetonian manuscripts, one "On the Teaching of Thaddæus the Apostle," * contains the following statements:—

"Aggæus, moreover, who made the silks and headbands for the king at Palut, and Barshelama, and Barsamya, together with others their companions, clave to Addæus the Apostle, and he received them, and associated them in the ministry, *their business being to read in the Old Covenant* (the Pentateuch), *and in the New* (the Gospels), *and in the Prophets, and in the Acts of the Apostles, and to meditate upon them daily*, strictly charging them to let their bodies be pure, and their persons holy, as becomes men who stand before the altar of God." "And they ministered with him in the church which Addæus had built at the word and command of Abgar the king, being furnished with supplies by the king and by his nobles, partly for the house of God, and partly for the support of the poor. Moreover, much people assembled day by day, and came

* Antenicene Library. Vol. XX.

to the prayers of the service, and to the Old Testament, and to the New of the Diatessaron." The Diatessaron must have been a Harmony of the Four Gospels; such a Harmony was composed by Tatian, and be it noted well, that Tatian was a Syrian; but he lived later, and may have taken his idea from the same source, rather than conceived it for himself. Leaving, however, this disputable point, we certainly find enough to establish our belief that they who planted the Gospel in Syria gave the writings of the Evangelists to the people in their own language.

Latin for Africa and the West.

The first preachers in Italy, as elsewhere, were necessarily the first translators. Even Thaddæus, in Osrohēne, must have had many helpers in so great a labour. The gift of tongues, too, which distinguished the Apostolic age, must have powerfully aided that generation of interpreters, whether the interpretation was written or oral. As for Italy, one language would not yet serve, not even Latin. The population of so much of Italy as was included until recently in the kingdom of Naples, was almost entirely Greek, or Greek speaking; Greek settlements were numerous and strong in Sicily. Even in Rome, during the reign of Augustus and Tiberius, the Greek language was familiarly spoken, of which there is abundant proof. One or two examples are sufficient to remind the reader of a universally acknowledged fact, that in Europe Greeks were the first masters of letters, philosophy, and rhetoric.

> "Grecia capta ferum victorum cepit, et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio." *

* *Horatii Epistolarum*, II. 1.

If, in the Augustan age, both arts and arms were at their greatest height of excellence, it was then that Grecian culture exerted a more powerful influence over Roman society than the martial spirit, which could not maintain its fury amidst the searching influence of much intellectual activity. Passing salutations were exchanged, indifferently, in Greek or Latin, by every one who had anything to say for himself.

"Exprimere, Rufe, fidiculæ licet cogant,
Ave Latinum, χαίρε non potest græcum." *

Romans and Athenians in Rome associated with familiar ease, and we hear of a countrywoman of our own, educated there, who could mingle in the united circle with general acceptance.

"Romanam credere Matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam." †

It is nevertheless remarkable that although there are traces of much earlier translation into Latin, they are first found in the writings of Tertullian. Tertullian was born in Carthage, and in due time became a presbyter of the Carthaginian Church. We do not know the date of his birth nor of his ordination, but learn that he was converted early to Christianity, and wrote much. His works contain indications that he was born in the middle of the second century, flourished towards the end of it, and ceased to write and live very early in the third. He wrote in Latin, and understood Greek, but not Hebrew, and was obliged to others for any information he could gain concerning the Hebrew original of the Old Testament. Such information was uncertain at the best, and sometimes very incorrect. For example, in treating of the first words of the Book of

* Martialis, v. 51. † *Ibid.*, XL. 53.

Genesis, he writes, "Some say that, in the Hebrew, Genesis begins thus: *In the beginning God made for himself a son*, In principio fecit sibi filium.* He must have read the Old Testament in Greek as well as in Latin, for he quoted both with equal freedom, and if you spend but one hour in examining the quotations that lie thickly on his pages, you will see that he must also have had a Latin version before him, to which he could turn during the composition of his books. In other words, his works contain evidence that there was a Latin Bible in Africa in the latter half of the second century, or very early in the third. Latin, as all know, was the language spoken in Roman Carthage. This Latin, even when much improved in the speech of educated persons, was of the kind written by Tertullian. But although a Latin Bible might be found in Roman Africa, it does not follow that it was all the work of one translator, or to be found in one volume, or that there were not there, as elsewhere, many translators of books, or parts of books, or single passages, as the preacher or writer might have occasion to interpret, and generally, his original would be Greek.

Tertullian's numerous works contain copious textual quotations from *the whole body of canonical scripture*, totum instrumentum utriusque testamenti.† Open any one of the tomes of Sabatier, and you will see that he quotes from Tertullian, and from him gathers contributions towards the columns headed VETUS LATINA, and containing what may be called the old Latin before Jerome. When the Greek language failed to convey the word of life to the homes and congregations of Western Christendom, the

---

* *Tertulliani adv. Praxiam.* Cap. V.

† *Ut supra.* Cap. XX.

African Latin also gave place to purer Latin in Biblical translation. Then Jerome, dissatisfied with the multitude of erroneous and conflicting renderings, applied himself to the work of revision, and having learned Hebrew for the purpose of bringing his edition of the Old Testament nearer to the original, produced one continuous work: a complete Latin Bible, which may fairly be distinguished as *the Old Vulgate*. Jerome was probably born in the year 330, and died about 420. His estimate of the canon was correct, and his list of the books of Holy Scripture the same as our own, clear of all that is apocryphal. His version must be carefully distinguished from the modern Vulgate, which exhibits the effect of many revisals, the trail of an ecclesiastical bias contracted since the German Reformation, if not earlier, especially under the influence of Pope Sixtus V. This is the Latin Bible now known as *the Vulgate*. If it were possible to recover the text of Jerome, untouched by officious editors, we might possess, after the old Syriac, the most valuable of all the ancient versions of the New Testament.

In short, as the writing of Pontius Pilate on the cross of Christ was in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—as the word Hebrew must here be understood—so was the gospel of Christ speedily published in Greek, Hebrew (Syriac), and Latin, for the three great sections of mankind among whom it was first proclaimed. But although the key was thus given for opening the gates of many kingdoms to Him, the work of translation was no more than begun. The signal for departure into every land was made to His messengers when the fiery tongues rested on their heads, and now that they have free utterance given them, the chief instrument for teaching is put into their hands. His order is faithfully obeyed, and His work will be quickly done.

FIG. 46.

LATIN.

PAGE FROM A MS. OF THE FOUR GOSPELS, BROUGHT FROM ROME BY THE MONK AUGUSTINE.

et dicit illis hominib
uenite et uidete
hominem
qui dixit mihi omnia
quæcumq; feci
numquid ipse est xp̃s
exierunt de ciuitate
et uenie bant ad eū
interrogabant eum
discipuli dicentes
rabbi manduca
ille autem dixit eis
ego cibum habeo
manducare
quem uos non scitis
dicebant ergo discipuli
ad inuicem
numquid aliquis at
tulit ei manducare
dicit eis ihs
meus cibus est ut fa
ciam uoluntatem
eius qui misit me
ut perficiam opus eius
nonne uos dicitis quod
adhuc quattuor menses
sunt et messis
uenit
ecce dico uobis

leuate oculos ues
tros et uidete regi
ones
quia albæ sunt iam
ad messem
et qui metit mercedem
accipit
et congregat fructum
in uitam æternam
ut et qui seminat si
mul gaudeat
et qui metit
in hoc enim est uer
bum uerum
quia alius est qui se
minat
et alius est qui met
ego misi uos metere
quod uos non labo
rastis
alii laborauerunt
et uos in laborem eo
rum introistis
ex ciuitate autem illa
multi crediderunt
in eum samaritanorum
propter uerbum
mulieris testimo
nium perhibentis

Fig. 47.

LATIN.

From Alcuin's Bible, so called.

INCIPIT LIBER ISAIAE · PROPHETAE ·

Cap. i.

ISIOISAIAE FILII AMOS. QUAM VIDIT SUPER IUDAM. ET HIERUSALEM. IN DIEBUS OZIAE IOATHAE ACHAZ EZECHIAE REGUM IUDA. Audite caeli et auribus percipe terra. quoniam dominus locutus est. filios enutrivi et exaltavi. ipsi autem spreverunt me. Cognovit bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepe domini sui. Israhel non cognovit me. populus meus non intellexit. Vae genti peccatrici populo gravi. iniquitate. semini nequam filiis sceleratis.

A sentence of Chrysostom in the fourth century bears testimony:—"Not so the works of private and unlearned men, but Syrians, and Egyptians, and Indians, and Persians, with Ethiopians, and multitudes of other nations, have the things concerning Him translated into their own tongues."*

In this brief enumeration it would be pleasant to find mention of a British Bible, but we find it not. Merchants and Roman soldiers, recently converted to faith in Christ, were probably heralds of the gospel to our island even in Apostolic times; and it was certainly not less than half a century earlier than the first year of our era when Julius Cæsar landed in Britain. With the Roman occupation, Latin was introduced, and before the first assemblage of Christian worshippers could be formed, at least a century after the Roman invasion, Latin became the language of law, religion, and of such elementary education as could be imparted to Britons under Roman influence. A Latin version, therefore, would be understood by most of the converts; the necessity for a British Bible would be confined within a narrow territory, and of that so little is known and we have so little ground even for conjecture, that our first notice of vernacular translation for our ancestors must come under the head of Franco-Theotisc or Anglo-Saxon, not British. The earliest Christian writings, so far as we know, were Latin. Fac-similes of two manuscripts opposite this page are described in the appended catalogue.

Egyptian.

In no country outside Palestine had Christianity an earlier introduction than in Egypt. For the infant Jesus

* Chrysostom's *Homilies on St. John.* Hom. II.

refuge was provided there. Simon the Cyrenian,—almost an Egyptian,—father of his disciples Alexander and Rufus, was compelled to carry our Lord's cross on the way to Calvary (Mark xv. 21; Acts xix. 33; Rom. xvi. 13). Dwellers in Egypt, and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, were among the first converts at Jerusalem. Irenæus, some time in the latter half of the second century, speaks of the churches "which are in Egypt, and those which are in Lybia, rejoicing in the light of truth, and in a unity like the oneness of that light which shines upon them all."*

Such a description of Churches distributed over two great provinces, denotes unity in the teachers of a faith derived from one certain source, such as the Bible, product of one sovereign inspiration, and we have almost contemporaneous testimony of the state of religion in the same Churches. Under the reign of the Emperor Severus, a severe persecution of the Christians raged in Alexandria, and throughout Egypt. Many eminent confessors obtained immortal crowns of martyrdom for Christ in or about the year 202.† Such wide-spread persecution, with such a widely-spread and vigorous resistance at that early date, bears witness to the stability of the persecuted Church, and therewith brings proof of the existence of well-instructed congregations from the times of the Apostles, for a people capable of effectually resisting persecution was never known without a Bible, and teachers who understood it well and could expound it intelligently. Now, in Upper Egypt the language of the population was Egyptian proper, not Coptic made out of a mixture of Greek and African; and therefore in Thebes, no less than in Edessa,

---

* Irenæus *contra Hæreses*, I. x. 2.

† Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 1.

the first converts must have heard the word of God in their own vernacular, very long indeed before the death of Leonidas the Martyr in 202.

The Church of Alexandria, too, was above need of advocates to proclaim its magnitude and prosperity, and the names of Clement and Athanasius are still brilliant on the pages of ecclesiastical history, not to speak of Pantænus, master of Clement, and one of the founders of the famous Alexandrian School. With these men the Greek language was vernacular. Under the Ptolemies there were Greek synagogues in Egypt. In the reign of Justinian, the Law was read in Greek in the synagogue services in other parts of the empire, and one of Justinian's constitutions regulated that custom so as to prevent confusion, and obviate strife in the Greek and Hebrew congregations. It may be observed by the way, that those Jews who rejected the traditions were always the most readily disposed to introduce a vernacular language into their synagogues, whether in Egypt or elsewhere. Of this custom we have examples in the present volume, in the Arabic translations of R. Saadiah, and the Tartar version of the Karaites of the Crimea, manifestly prepared for public reading. Transition, therefore, from a Greek synagogue to a Christian congregation would be comparatively easy in Egypt. The prevailing use of a living language in divine service in Alexandria, the home of Philo the Jew and Clement the Christian, was in perfect agreement with the spirit of Christianity, and in harmony with the recorded use of the tongues of Lybia and of Upper Egypt in sacred things. Then, again, learned Alexandrians, although Egyptians, wrote in Greek, the language spoken by their conquerors, so making an amicable interchange of language. When Augustus planted the Roman standard in the city where

the Ptolemies had held their court, even the Romans prided themselves on speaking Greek rather than Latin, and it was in the Augustan age of classic purity that a Roman officer in Jerusalem said to an Apostle, "Canst thou speak Greek, or art thou that barbarian?" Greek, then, written on the finest papyrus, must, for our present purpose, be treated as a language naturalised in Egypt, and here is a specimen accordingly.

All this time the native Egyptians enjoyed their own language, and although no name of translator can be produced, and we no more expect to find fragments of the ancient Egyptian Bible on the banks of the Nile than pieces of Noah's ark on the sides of Ararat, there can be no doubt that such a version existed. The language itself has perished, and the only remains of the great work since known as Coptic, are now discovered to be written in three dialects, distinguished as (1) *Sahidic*, or Thebaic, for Upper Egypt; (2) *Memphitic*, for Lower Egypt; and (3) *Bashmuric*, or *Ammonian*, there being different opinions as to the part of the country to which the latter might have belonged. Pending the doubt, we may be nevertheless assured that the Egyptian worshipper, wherever he dwelt, had the Bible in his mother-tongue. Nor the Bible only. The Egyptians had their own liturgy, which the Coptic Church retains, or one like it, and the priests read in their congregations, although the people do not understand it. It is as if the men of ages older than local memory were permitted to leave monumental evidence of the existence of a Christian Church, from the days of Simon the Cyrenian, men who once worshipped God in spirit and in truth, amidst the ruins of the idolatry of the Pharaohs, one of the most formidable systems of false worship that ever debased humanity.

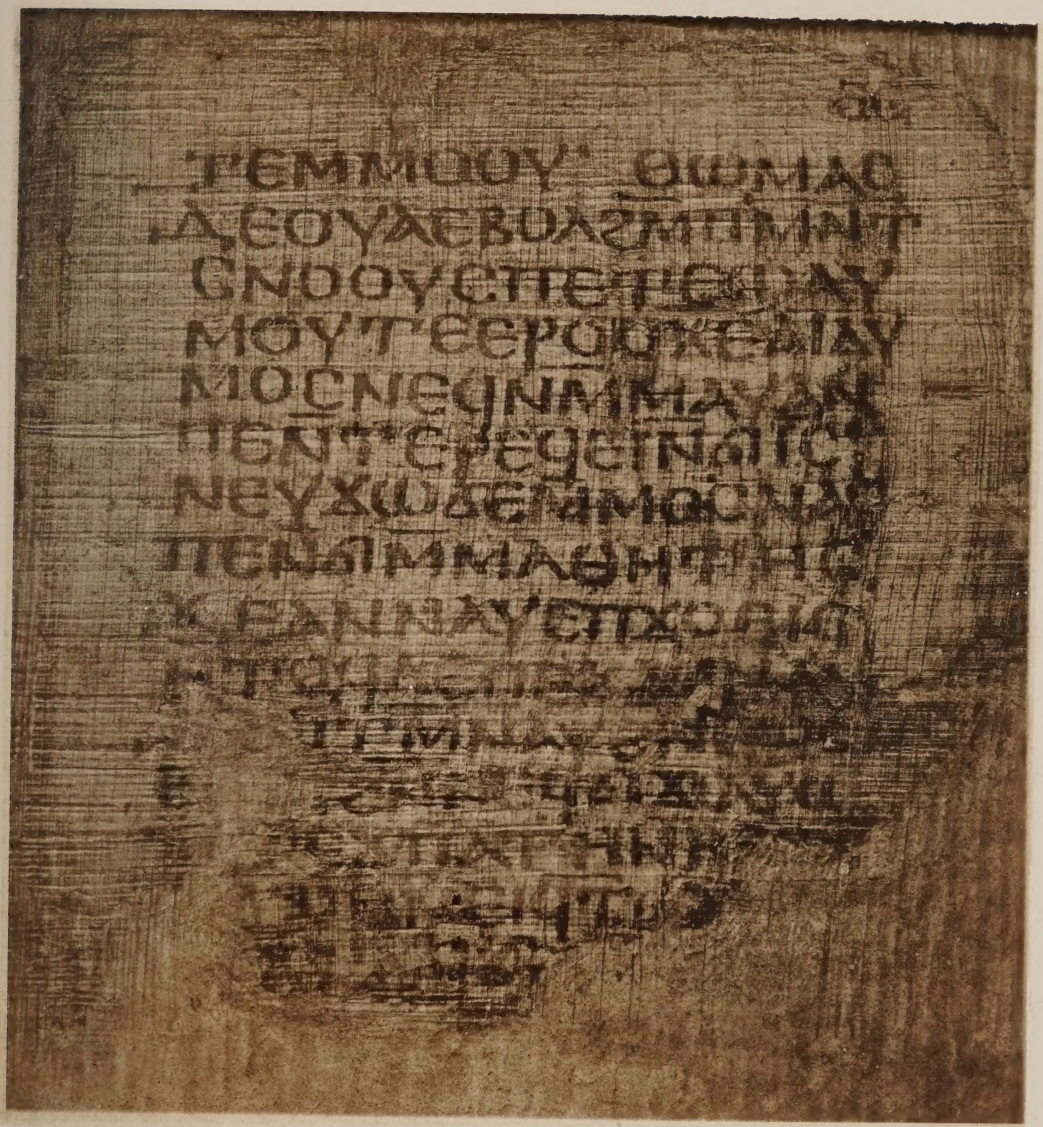
Fig. 48.

EGYPTIAN. PAPYRUS WITH GREEK.

μαι μαρτυρεῖ τὸ Ἅγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν πνεῦμα
ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον πιστεύω
τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ ἐν τῇ πί-
στει τῶν ζώντων ὑπομενῶ τὸν ἐν
ὀνείρῳ καὶ κράτει ὀφθέντα μοι
καὶ ἁρμάσαντα καὶ ὑπόμενοντα
τὸν ἅλμοστωδαγμὸν προσε-
νέγκαντα θεμοῦ μὴ παρὰ
φωνήσας ἀπεμοῦ μὴ ποτε παρα-
φωνήσας ἀπεμοῦ καὶ ὁμοιωθήσο-
μαι τοῖς καταβαίνουσιν εἰς λά-
κκον θεοῦ ἔχοντα πρὸς φωνὴν
τὴν ἀπειρέσιμον ἔντος ἐ-
ξέτασμε πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ με
αἱρεῖν χειρός μου πρόσνα ὃν
ἀρτον σου

Fig. 49.

EGYPTIAN. PAPYRUS WITH SAHIDIC.



The reader has before him a partly defaced page of a Sahidic version of the Gospel according to St. John. The date of this papyrus manuscript is not known, but it is considered to be very ancient. Apart, however, from these versions, there is historic evidence that early in the third century the Christians of Egypt were not indebted only to the Septuagint Greek of the Old Testament and the original text of the New for their familiar acquaintance with Holy Scripture.

Anthony, father of monachism in Egypt, was born in the year of our Lord 251, and died in 356, as we learn from the chronicle of Eusebius, translated by Jerome.* Athanasius greatly reverenced this eremite, and wrote his life, which is published with the works of that father. Some have thought the book spurious, but the most that can be fairly alleged against it is that it appears to have been corrupted by later copyists, but even this is more than can be proved. No doubt the biography is in substance authentic. Now Athanasius, friend and admirer of Anthony, relates that his parents, Christians in Upper Egypt, brought him up religiously, instructing him as much by their own godly example as by books. They were wealthy, and willing to give him all needful educational advantages, but he was not fond of learning, neither did he like the company of other boys, but wished to live entirely at home with his parents and their family. Greek he did not then hear spoken, and never in his life would he learn it. But he understood the lessons read in church, and in the narrative of Athanasius there is no mention

* CCCLVII (= 356, the common account), *Antonius monachus centesimo et quinto ætatis anno in eremo moritur, solitus multis ad se venientibus de Paulo quodam Thebaeo miræ beatitudinis viro referre complura; cujus nos exitum brevi libello explicavimus.*

made of any interpretation of a foreign lectionary, so far, at least, as I have observed. Sentences of Holy Scripture from the lips of the reader caught his ear, and led him in the commencement of his religious life to give up all his property, and choose absolute poverty for Christ's sake. From time to time such sentences, whether heard by him in public reading, or actually read in the course of life-long study, were accepted as the standard of faith and rule of life. So full of the inspired sentences was his teaching, that he must have had a written Bible for companion in solitude, meditated on it continually, and laid up its very words in memory. Athanasius relates that when some Greeks came to argue with him he spoke in Egyptian, which they did not understand, and the conversation was carried on by help of an interpreter. He rejoiced in his ignorance of "letters," that is to say, of Greek: yet his argumentation was so vigorous, and gave such proof of an active and disciplined mind, that however much he erred in choosing the life of a hermit, it is impossible to believe that he was unable to read his own language. He must have read the Bible, or habitually heard it read, for he was continually quoting its very words.

About the year 270, Anthony being somewhere between eighteen and twenty years of age, according to the state ment of Eusebius Pamphilus, one of his contemporaries, he heard the sentences read in church which determined him to give up houses and lands, abandon his patrimony, leave all, and follow Christ. In that year, then, there certainly was a Bible in the Egyptian language publicly read, and how much earlier one cannot say. The only natural inference is that it was provided by the first planters of Christianity.

Next follows Pachomius in the fourth century. The

age of this eremite is not quite certain, but all agree that when he founded a very famous monastery in Upper Egypt, he knew no other language than the vulgar Egyptian of that region. He wrote the rules for his new order in the common language, and himself became very famous before he knew any other. In those rules he quoted very largely from the Bible, which, it is superfluous to say, would not have been possible if there were not a Bible for his use. An anecdote occurring in an ancient memoir of him, whether true or not, proceeds on an established persuasion of his notorious illiteracy. It relates that when a Roman devotee, who knew Greek, came to offer himself for admission into the monastery, and attempted to converse with him both in Greek and Latin, but failed because Pachomius could not speak anything but Egyptian, which the stranger did not understand, they were compelled to accept the aid of an interpreter. On that occasion, says the story, he was so distressed at his inability to speak freely with any one soever who should desire his spiritual guidance, that he prayed for the gift of tongues, and forthwith received it.* This legend may be wholly false, or only partially true,† but it is fully consistent with the general statement that when he quoted scripture and wrote rules he had no literary knowledge beyond other Egyptians destitute of education.

---

* *Acta Sanctorum. Maii* 14. PACHOMIUS. *Cap. III.* 26.

† *May be wholly false or only partially true.* Historians of the present day ought not to forget that in the Church before Constantine, and even later, there was a gift of tongues, with other supernatural endowments. Now, although monastic scribes have dealt very dishonestly with their copies, dressing up incidents in their own way, it would be an unjustifiable literary wastefulness to throw away hastily every document that has been tampered with, or to reject totally anything that is intrinsically credible, and in substantial agreement with other witnesses.

With regard to Pachomius himself there is corroborative evidence. Gennadius says that there can be no doubt that the inmates of *a very ancient monastery called Baum in the Egyptian language*,—unum antiquius monasterium quod linguâ Ægyptiacâ vocatur Baum, (Gennadius is giving a catalogue of persons in his own time, with events concerning them) were generally unlearned folk to whom Pachomius taught the first elements of sacred knowledge in the plainest words. His disciple and successor Theodorus, a presbyter, wrote to other monasteries *epistles on the Holy Scriptures in well arranged discourse*—scripturarum sanctarum epistolas sermone digestas. Oreseisis, a colleague of both Pachomius and Theodorus, *a man perfectly instructed in the Holy Scriptures*—vir in sanctis scripturis ad perfectum instructus—composed a book rich in divine wisdom, to teach the monks their duties, in which he explained nearly all the Old and New Testament in compendious dissertations.* With such historical testimony before us, it is not easy to doubt that the contents of Holy Scripture were made familiar to the otherwise untaught natives of Upper Egypt, which could not be done by the medium of any other than their mother-tongue.

In Lower Egypt, too, the teachers of the people were equally faithful. Pachomius, for example, came down to Alexandria on the invitation of Athanasius, to assist in upholding Christian truth against the Arians, a service which it is not intimated that he rendered in Greek. But the Alexandrians could not have understood him, if the Ptolemæan Greek had supplanted the common speech of Egypt. Later again, evidence of the use of the country language, and no other, in Christian congregations, is

---

* *Gennadii Illustrium Virorum Catalogus.*

gathered from the signatures appended to the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, in the year 451. One of the Egyptian bishops there present, being unable to write his name in Greek, a deacon was permitted to write it for him, and, as would appear, to interpret for him in the Council. *Cælosirius, Bishop of Arsinoïtes, Julius his deacon interpreting for him,* Καλοσίριος ἐπίσκοπος Αρσινοΐτου, ἑρμηνεύοντος αὐτὸν Ἰουλίου διακόνου αὐτοῦ.* The high antiquity of a Coptic, or Egyptian, version is therefore fully established.

Parthian, or Persian.

Parthians, Medes, and Elamites heard the Gospel spoken to them at Jerusalem in their own tongues. We might reasonably expect to find some trace of a Persian Bible at any time during the first six centuries of the Christian era. Considering the distinctness of the Pehlavi, or Old Persian of that period, from pure Syriac, which might not be available for the Parthians, we may suppose that such a work existed. It is certain that Christianity was early established among them, but it does not appear that any remnant of a translation of the Christian Scriptures has yet been found. Still the ascertained practice of Christendom compels us to believe that the converts from the degenerate religion of Zoroaster would be provided with written copies of Holy Scripture, and that the Pehlavi, into which language the Zend-avesta had been translated from the ancient Zend, would be at once employed to bring revealed truth to the apprehension of the infant Church. We

* Amidst the multitude of signatures oft repeated in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, I fail to recognise Kalosirius, but must have missed it by an oversight. The accuracy of Dr. Tregelles, from whom I borrow it, may be trusted.

cannot think otherwise, and perhaps vestiges of the Bible for Parthia may yet be discovered by competent scholars. Even now, the absence of such remains may be accounted for by the inevitable destruction of copies during those persecutions which called forth an intercessory letter from Constantine the Great to the king of Persia,* and by the further ravages of Mohammedan conquerors in the seventh century. As for modern translations, beginning with the version of the Pentateuch by the Jew Tarvus, they lie beyond the scope of this volume, except for merely incidental notice, if there be sufficient room for it. Whether Tarvus was of the ninth, tenth, or sixteenth century is not yet decided.

But the subject must not be passed over without some enquiry. Although history does not bear such distinct traces of Bible-reading in Parthia or Persia as in Egypt, there can be no doubt that there was an established Parthian Church in the first century, unless a general persuasion of the earliest Christian writers is to pass for nothing.

Eusebius delivers it as the undisputed testimony of his predecessors, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις περίεχει, "that the Apostles and disciples of our Lord and Master being dispersed over the whole world, preached the Gospel. Thomas," whom he mentions first, "took Parthia for his field of service."† Elsewhere we find the same tradition. A writing of considerable length, perhaps older than Eusebius, although it be not from the pen of the Roman Clement, to whom, like various other writings of unknown authors, it was attributed, when describing certain abominable customs of the heathen, says: "The same things are done among the

---

* Eusebius *de Vitâ Constantini*, iv. 8.

† Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 1.

Parthians, as Thomas, who preached the Gospel to them, has written to us."* Others, indeed, assign Parthia to Matthew, and India to Thomas, as appears from a verse of Paulinus of Nola, who wrote some years later than Eusebius:—

"Parthia Matthæum complectitur, India Thomam."

Gregory of Nazianzum, and Jerome, are quoted to the same effect. But Hippolytus, oldest of them all, has a sentence which still reserves Thomas to Parthia, yet does not quite withdraw him from India, but confirms the more correct persuasion of those who deny that any Apostle was limited to a single country, and also favours the conclusion to which Hyde and others have arrived, that as within the Persian dominion there were many tongues, or spoken languages, "Thomas, having preached to the Parthians, Medes, Bactrians, and Magians, was killed with spears and quartered in the city of Calamene in India, and buried there.† Over great part of this vast field the Syriac and the Pehlavi would meet the demand of the early congregations, but considering the want of suitable writing material, as is indicated by a tradition of the Zendavesta written upon twelve hundred skins, and heavy enough to load a beast of burden, and the later tale of the Koran, written by piecemeal upon shoulder-blades of mutton, we could not wonder if portions of the Bible, transcribed with difficulty, and hardly to be possessed by private persons, should be destroyed in the long-continued persecution under Sapor, to say nothing of other persecutions, both severe and frequent. If copies of the sacred writings were

---

* *Recognitionum Scti. Clementi: Amst.* 1724. IX. 29.

† *Cotelerii Patres Apostolici,* Tom. i. pag. 585, n. 8.

not all swept away in those disastrous times, the dispersion of the Church and extinction of the language under the Mohammedan conquest in the seventh century, with the compulsory use of Arabic and submission to Islam that followed, is quite enough to account for the disappearance of even the least fragment of a Pehlavi version. Even the Gothic, produced three or four centuries later, and in long use by a brave and victorious people, is nearly lost. There is not even one complete copy of Gothic Gospels known to exist.

We must accept these considerations, therefore, to account for the loss of the old Parthian or Persian* Bible, and be content with the express declaration of Chrysostom, who lived early enough to know, and had sufficient means of information to assure us of the accuracy of his words, that the Persians had "these things translated into their own tongue."†

Gothic.

THE Goths had established themselves within the bounds of the Roman Empire in the reign of Valerian (A.D. 255—260). They brought the language of a race of barbarians to be the vehicle of revealed truth to future generations.

Historians describe the resistless advances of those barbarians into the heart of Europe. They come in lawless hordes, terrible for compact multitude and ferocious courage; Roman valour is failing, and the Roman people are already weakened by disunion and luxury. The Gothic invaders gain strength in proportion to the

---

* Parthia and Persia were different countries, but Persia was eventually made part of the Parthian Empire.

† CHRYSOST. *Hom. in Joannem*, II.

gradual decadence of the empire. They are feebly encountered by cowardly citizens who propose to pay them to retire, but by so doing allure them to return. They return of course, levy tribute, and carry away hostages for payment. Meanwhile they are making incursions in other directions, and possess themselves of wider and wider tracts of territory, holding all treaties in contempt.

Crossing the Danube at various points, they move simultaneously towards Constantinople and Rome, expecting to overturn the thrones of East and West, and their force is augmented by the adhesion of lesser tribes, that long to cast off the Roman yoke. But we confine our attention to that division of the Gothic invaders which possesses Mœsia, or, in modern geography, European Turkey, South of the Danube, between the Black Sea and the Adriatic.

By this time Athanaric is king of the Goths, and Valens emperor of the Romans, but a pacific element begins to mitigate their mutual enmity. Grecian and Italian hostages and prisoners have surprised the heathens by returning them brotherly charity for spoliation and captivity. These noble captives exemplify the grace of a religion, unspeakably more dignified than the Goths have ever heard of, and god-like as the heathen world has never known. These Christian captives teach their masters concerning Christ. The instruction is welcomed. Wild fables, such as have since been collected into the Edda, are forgotten while rejoicing Christians discourse of the life, the sufferings, the amazing death, the glorious resurrection and ascension of our Lord, and exhort their captors to believe the truths and accept the blessings of the Gospel. Congregations of converts are formed, and a Greek, probably a captive too, becomes their bishop. His name is Theophilus, and is found subscribed to the acts of the first

general council of Nicæa as "Bishop of the Goths." His successor is the more famous Ulphilas, the fruit of whose one great work will survive when the names Goth and Barbarian shall be left to the obscurity of half-forgotten history. The world will never forget Ulphilas.

It is believed that his father, or grandfather, was a Cappadocian. Perhaps he inherited Christianity from one of those Jewish converts who were baptised at Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost. Young Ulphilas assuredly knew Greek. It is almost certain that he knew Latin also. Gothic was his mother-tongue, and therefore the lad's speech was free, bold, rich, and suited for the grandeur of his own superior mission. But the tribe was not quite unlettered, and if any one would conjecture the degree of their civilisation, and their power of passing from the Runes of Scandinavia to participate in the literature of Athens, let him search into the monstrous mythology they cast away, contrast it with the more sure word of prophecy that was then delivered to them day by day, and admire the energy of that heavenly light which could dispel so thick a darkness.

Many of them suffered martyrdom for Christ. The idol-gods they had recently abandoned were sometimes carried through their encampments, and the Goth who would not worship the image was seized and put to death, his children were involved in the same penalty, and all they left behind was consumed or stolen. In all this their good Bishop Ulphilas maintained his constancy, and at length, having collected a great multitude of Christian Goths, he led them over the Danube, placed himself and his followers under the protection of the Roman emperor, and found a refuge for them in Mœsia, on the skirts of Mount Hæmus. He had been always diligent in acquiring

knowledge, and was, therefore, apt to teach. When but thirty years of age he became bishop, and held the office forty years, until his death. In that character he was summoned to attend a council at Constantinople; but the council was Arian, and at that time nearly all the Eastern Church had lapsed into Arianism, and Ulphilas, carried away by the torrent, renounced the faith he had confessed at Nicæa, in the time of Constantine the Great. He was flattered by an appeal from Auxentius the Arian, who then occupied the See of Constantinople, and advised and intreated him to agree with Valens, the emperor. "It was only," said Auxentius, "a war of words, and one might adopt either side without varying his faith at all." Ulphilas then gave way, professed himself an Arian, and in reality became such.

But this change took place in the latter part of his life, and already the translation above mentioned had been made or begun. In the true spirit of primitive Christianity, the chief Evangelist of the Goths would not rest until he had translated the Bible into Gothic, but before this could be accomplished he had much preparatory work to do. Gothic utterance gave sounds which had never been associated with Greek letters, and before the translator could write his version, he was obliged to prepare a new alphabet. Thus was introduced the kind of writing now presented to our readers,* and by comparing it with uncial Greek the difference will be instantly perceived. So great a dif-

* This facsimile is reproduced from one obtained by Sir Frederic Madden from the manuscript of a *skeireins* or *exposition* of the Gospel according to St. John. The same skeireins is published by Massmann in his edition of the Gothic version of Ulphilas, but its author is not known. The manuscript has been mutilated, and three initial letters are lost from the margin of the first column. There are also some errors from inattention of the scribe.

ference might not be necessary, but whether for the sake of adapting the writing to the writing-materials, or for some other cause, he gave his people a caligraphy altogether characteristic. The most ancient known copy of any part of the famous work of Ulphilas is *the silver book* (Codex Argenteus), preserved in the University of Upsala, so called because it is written, if not stamped, in silver letters, with a regularity that might seem impossible in hand-writing. The book has been miserably shattered, and although several fragments of other copies have been found, the Gospels, originally written in that sumptuous manuscript, are not yet much more than half collected in the last and largest edition. There is little of the other books of the New Testament, and of the Old Testament next to nothing.

Ulphilas lived through an episcopate of forty years (348—388), but in his time all the books of Holy Scripture were not usually written into one volume, nor always into consecutive volumes, and the Gothic Bible was not so completed. Yet the translator must be blamed for withholding from his people the Books of Samuel and Kings. More careful than wise, he passed them by in silence, fancying that the reading of them would stimulate the Goths to war, to which he considered they were already too much inclined. That his licence did not stay at this point is made evident by other considerable omissions both in the Old and New Testament, unless the collation of *all* the manuscripts hitherto discovered utterly deceives us. There is also a trace of Arianism in the work, but as it stands alone amidst the scanty fragments of the Old Testament, and very imperfect portions of the New, we cannot speak with entire confidence. The author strongly inclines to think that the Arian blemish now to

Fig. 50.

GOTHIC.

hnnnsaarisaam
ïnahanjnns:
tyeihaiankïs
mahtai: nnama
sinnikannse
aeinizenanh
jisskaisanjin
çahninsaank
çanjeinfank
measikrahaba
aniψnnψaianj
bahtyssnψaim
anhnmistamrna
çamçahfakei
sainm: ψaknh
uεψnnsnïmçaï
çainai: anθe
niattanhnψïna
nsahyfnnψan
ψaianjbahtyss
uiψanjans: ψa
teiniθanhnn
aiykyjisaman
nasyasyesa
manna.: sxhψ

anjahaftsjnra
sahtai: maiznhψa
jnafjymeinaiçai
naizennraaanbei
naiyakψ: anjhy
fnnank'çainaim
anahariangamïm
nψizeiniattanhn̄
ïna: nianjsitan
jansçainnaizenn
seaeinψizeana
haitanjaneim
kmaissiajaaçik
çanjansfins·ai
sein: syiknnψa
baïnaaaaim aaa
mannamfankayi
sankahnijeann
ψçainaïïnidnse
aeinssseinaizys
baaψeinïzenins
ψnaanjans: miψ
natizaanahyfnn
yiψkaïnsuiψan
jans: ïbaiçahçns

be pointed out is the work of a later hand, and it certainly contrasts with the clear integrity of all else that we see of the version so far as it goes. One of the minor fragments on a palimpsest leaf contains the following version of Phil. ii. 6, 7, which we exhibit with the original, and translate.

Ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

Saei in guthaskaunein wisands ni wulwa rahnida wisan, sik galeikōn gutha, ak sik silban uslausida wlit skalkis nimands, in galeikya manne waurthans.*

Who, being in God's-form, counted it not robbery to liken himself to God, but allowed himself, taking the face of a servant, being made in the likeness of men.

There are two bold interpolations in the Gospel according to St. Luke which betray the Samaritan-like freedom exhibited in the example just quoted. The first is a material addition to the words of the Evangelist (i. 3), where he says, "It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding." But Ulphilas adds, *Yah ahmin weihamma;* making St. Luke to say, "It seemed good, *both to me and to the Holy Ghost*, having had perfect understanding;" as if the Holy Ghost as well as this Evangelist had been collecting information from various sources. The other occurs (ix. 50) after our Lord's words, to which our translator is pleased to add *Ni áinshum áuk ïst mannè, saei ni gawaúrkyai maht in namin meinamma.* That is to say, "For there is no man who may not work a miracle in my name." As if to work a miracle, or *maht*, δύναμις, *mighty*

* The writer is indebted for the Gothic text to the valuable edition of Massmann. Stuttgart: 1857. But for the English translation he is himself responsible.

work, were merely to exercise a natural power, without needing a gracious gift of the Holy Spirit of God. It is worthy of remark how these few strokes of presumptuous intermeddling with the original text indicates the working of some one mind, whether Ulphilas himself, or of the scribe who copied his autograph, it may not be easy to conjecture with any good degree of confidence.

Bating peculiarities, which must not be overlooked, and which every one who is convinced of the divine authority of Holy Scripture must absolutely condemn, the Gothic version yet remains to attest the important fact that in the fourth century Christian teachers circulated the Bible among the people; and, in this instance, we have an earnest man, whose judgment erred concerning the fitness of some books for general reading, and whose judgment afterwards erred again on a vital point of Christian faith, but who nevertheless did certainly agree with all his brethren that whatever was taught *de fide* should be made intelligible in common language to the people of every land.

Armenian.

The Gospel having been proclaimed in Osrohēne soon soon after the Ascension, and very soon carried thence into the adjacent country of Armenia, Armenians and Osrohenians together endeavoured to spread the glad tidings yet further into Persia, the Syriac language, in one or other of its dialects, being for a long time common to them all, and they were rewarded with the only recompense they sought, in the conversion of many Persians. But Persia was at war with Rome, where Christianity was well established and grew steadily into power, from which cause,

perhaps, the Persians imagined that the sympathies of all Christians were with their enemies, and raised an unutterably savage persecution against their own countrymen, whose faith in Christ was ignorantly considered incompatible with loyalty to their country. Meanwhile, Armenia, only desiring to be neutral, suffered between the two contending powers, and at length became subject to Rome, until, in the year of our Lord 390, it shook off the imperial yoke, and became an independent State once more.

On the accession of an Armenian to the throne again, Mesrob, a learned man who had lived several years in retirement and study, left his retreat, and became coadjutor of the Patriarch Isaac. Being master of the Greek, Persian, and Syriac languages, as well as his own vernacular, and an earnest Christian and lover of his country, Mesrob promoted every practicable Christian method for extirpating the idolatry which still lingered in Armenia as elsewhere, and to that end devoted himself to the purification of literature, which had been both foreign and corrupt in Armenia, for ages before Syriac served as the medium of instruction in religion. As a written language, Persian had lately predominated, but its use was now undesirable, and as the Persian alphabet did not suit the orthography of the Armenian language, he strove to satisfy a pressing want by inventing an alphabet for Armenia entirely different from all others.

Moses of Chorēne, one of his numerous disciples, and first historian of Armenia, was witness of his anxiety and labours. From him we learn that Mesrob, notwithstanding his high dignity, was an assiduous teacher of youth in the first elements of knowledge, and that when he read to them the Holy Scriptures, whether in Syriac or Greek books,

having to interpret the words into Armenian, according to the general custom, the labour of instruction was much increased. He therefore undertook a twofold work, the invention and adaptation of an alphabet for writing a language hitherto unwritten, and the translation of the Holy Bible therein.

The Greek Alphabet was utterly insufficient for the former purpose, although its dissimilarity from the Persian, and its actual consecration to Christian use, might commend it to his choice; but he resolved to have a system of writing that would be unintelligible to foreigners, and, if possible, to enforce the exclusive use of that system by authority. After travelling much to study writing in other countries, but not finding efficient help anywhere, in great perplexity he betook himself to prayer. One day, either in a moment of profound abstraction, or in a dream, he seemed to find himself in some stony wilderness where the rocks were just whitened with a snow-shower. A man's hand, as aforetime in the palace of Belshazzar, was moving over the face of one of the rocks, and through the thin white snow the dark stone received the following letters, and showed them clearly:—ԱԲԳԴԵԶԷ. After prayer, Mesrob went to a friend, with his own hand wrote down the new-found characters, and then the two proceeded to vary the same elements until an alphabet of thirty-seven letters* rewarded his pious perseverance. The letters continue stencilled, as it were, exactly answering to the idea given by the narrator.† A manuscript of the tenth century well represents this most original penmanship.

Here we may note how Ulphilas and Mesrob, and after

---

* There are now thirty-eight.

† *Moses of Chorēne*, translated by M. Vaillant de Florival. Vol. II.

FIG. 51.

ARMENIAN.

Ի ՍԿԶԲՆԷ ԱՐԱՐՈՒԱԾՈՅ

ԳԳ. ԱՍԱՑ, ԹԷ ՅԱՐՈՒԹԻՒՆ Ի ՄԵՌԱՆԼԻՆ ԱՐԱՐՈՒԱԾՈՅ ԵՒ ՅԱՐՈՒԹԻՒՆ ԱՆՈՒՆ ԱՍՑԷ ՅԱՂԹԱՀԱՐՈՒԱԾՈՅ ՀԱՅՐԱՊԵՏԻՆ ՄԵՐՈՅ ՍՐԲՈՅ ՍԱՀԱԿԻ ԵՒ ՍՐԲՈՅ ՄԱՇՏՈՑԻ ՀԱՄԱՐ ՍԿԶԲՆԱՒՈՐԱՑ ՍԱՀՄԱՆԱՑ ԵՒ ՍՏԵՓԱՆՈՍ ԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍ

them Cyril, all of them connected with the oriental Greek Church, and, therefore, all accustomed to carry their pens from the left hand of the page to the right, wrote in the same direction, notwithstanding the different usages of languages to which they were otherwise accustomed. The arrangement of the text in Greek codices too, and the sectional divisions of Greek Evangelists, is often reflected with great faithfulness in the versions made from them in languages entirely dissimilar.

Mesrob having become the father of true Armenian literature, by the authority of King Bahram, in the year 406, his alphabet was adopted throughout the kingdom. A numerous company of students had gathered around him and learned to read and write. Some of them, no doubt, had the honour to be writing-masters at home, while others were sent to study in Antioch, Edessa, Alexandria, Constantinople and Athens, and in due time came back to Armenia fraught with various learning, and translated many books into Armenian for the enlightenment of future generations. In Edessa, it is said, they made a version of some part of the sacred volume from Syriac, but this exercise was but preparatory for more mature labours. Moses of Chorēne, himself one of those disciples, relates that while Mesrob was engaged in their instruction he was also occupied in biblical translation, and in due time completed a version of the twenty-two authentic books of the Old Testament, and also the New Testament, assisted by two disciples, John of Egheghiatz, and Joseph Bagnatz. The same historian says that the patriarch Isaac and Mesrob, having received authentic copies of the Holy Books, assisted by their disciples, had already translated them, but as they all were inexperienced in such work their version was in many points defective. Perceiving its im-

perfection they very wisely cancelled it altogether, and the latter version was adopted in its stead.*

Georgian.

On the spurs of the Caucasus, between Colchis and Albania, north of Armenia, lay the remote little kingdom of Iberia, now represented by the larger state of Georgia. So early as the reign of Constantine the Great, a Christian woman was carried captive into Iberia, made a slave, and served in the house of an inhabitant. Her earnest piety made her an object of curious wonder, but her prayers were invested with a power that to the heathen seemed miraculous. Rufinus, who lived early enough to receive his information from actual witnesses, heard that once when called upon, like other women, to prescribe remedies for a sick child, she professed ignorance of medicaments, but, pitying the mother's distress, laid the infant on her bed, prayed for its recovery, and when her prayers were answered, restored it to the mother in health. Exercising strong faith, she often did so prevail with the Father of life, but refused every sort of temporal reward, bidding all who offered such to believe that Jesus was the Son of God, and that He himself was God, and assured them that by so believing they would pay her what she valued more than gold. Rufinus relates that the number of converts to Christianity by her means so increased that the queen, and after her the king himself, were constrained to worship Christ as God, and put away idolatry, until all the Iberians, subdued by the force of her godly example and the prevalence of her prayers, came into the fold of the Good Shepherd.†

---

* *Ut supra.* Page 168.

† Rufin. H. E., i. 10.

Her name is not authentically recorded, but local tradition calls it Nina.

Already, then, Georgia was converted to the faith of Christ without any of the superstitious adjuncts which soon began to mar the work of God; but, like Armenia, Georgia had not a Bible of its own. Mesrob, therefore, went thither in the year 406, invented a second alphabet, much resembling the former, but not to be confounded with it, consisting of thirty-two letters. He died in reverend old age in the year 410, and in due time the Bible was translated into Georgian also, but from various causes Christianity decayed and the version fell into irreparable confusion.

Ethiopic.

The authorship of the Ethiopic version of the Old and New Testament is not known. We cannot affirm that the ancient language has not undergone any change since the time when the treasurer of Queen Candace came from the Island of Meroe to worship in Jerusalem, the contrary being well known; but when the Himyaritic inscriptions first, and then the Magdala manuscripts have been well studied, it will be possible to judge of manuscripts and versions in the language by critical comparison. As to manuscripts, the Octateuch in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society is said by M. Dillmann, who collated it carefully, to be the most ancient Ethiopic manuscript of any part of the Old Testament known as yet in Europe.

Although the Ethiopian "eunuch," as he was called, read a book of the prophet Isaiah, it cannot be reasonably supposed that it was written in Ethiopic, but very probably

in Hebrew. If he was not a Jew he would not have been a worshipper at Jerusalem, and certainly Greek would not be used by Hebrews in Ethiopia. Remembering, however, the origin of the Church of Axum, where Frumentius was first bishop, the Abyssinians have a tradition, if not a history, that their first bishop was translator of the Bible, and nothing can be more consistent with the general custom of Christendom in the fourth century, than that either he, or others under his direction, should do that necessary work with the least possible delay. Some light is cast on the origin of the Ethiopic Old Testament at the first opening of the book. The heading of the first book of Moses in two words is characteristic. ኦሪት:ዘልደት:: is obviously suggestive of a twofold source; it indicates at once the old Torah of the Hebrew Synagogue, and the full title of the first book thereof in the Alexandrian Church. The first word is, as near as orthography allows, the same as the Chaldee אוריתא *law*, and by a caprice of loose, uncultured language, as was the ecclesiastical language of Abyssinia, it is put for *book*, *i.e.*, of the Law. The same word is prefixed, in succession, to all the other books in the volume save one. So did the existence of synagogue-worship in Abyssinia for many centuries before Frumentius, determine the nomenclature of sacred things. The second word, which signifies *birth*, is as near as may be equivalent with Γένεσις, and certifies that a Septuagint Greek Bible, probably sent up from Alexandria by Athanasius himself, when he commissioned Frumentius to take charge of the Christians of the new diocese of Axum, was the original of this translation. The whole version bears the same clear impression.

The conclusion to which these hints conduct us is the sure one that in Abyssinia, as everywhere else, the entrance of the gospel necessitated the gift of the Bible in such a

Fig. 52.

ETHIOPIC.

ወታለ ብሰው፡አልባ
ሲ ሆሙ፡ወታቀንኖሙ፡
ቅናታቲሆሙ፡ወት ወ
ደ፡ዲቤሆሙ፡መዕፈር
11. ቶሙ፡ወይክውናሆሙ
መሠዋዕቲ፡ሊቲ፡ለዒለ
ም፡ወትፈጽም፡እደዊሁ፡
ለአፍንወእደወ፡ውሉዱ።
10. ወታቀርብ፡ላህመ፡ኀቡ፡
ኖኅቲ፡ደብደራ፡ዘመር
ጡር፡ወያንብሩ፡አሮን፡
ወደቂቁ፡እጀዊሆሙ፡ደ
በ፡ር እስ፡ሰህመ፡በቅደ
መ፡እግዚአ፡ብሔር፡በ
ኀቡ፡ኖኅቲ፡ደብተራ፡
12. ዘመርጡር፡ወተሐርደ፡
ለህም፡በቅደመ፡እግዚ
አ፡ብሔር፡በኀቡ፡ኖኅቲ፡
ደብተራ፡ዘመርጡር፡ወ
13. ንሣእ፡እምውስቲ፡ደመ፡
ለህመ፡ወትወደ፡ውስ
ቲ፡አቅርንቲ፡ቤቲ፡መ
ቅደስ፡በአጽባዕት ክ፡
ወዘተርፈ፡ኵሉ፡ደም፡
ካዕው፡ጠቅ፡ቤቲ፡መቅ
14. ደስ፡ወትንሥእ፡ሦሉስ
ብሔ፡አርሠ፡ወአብደ፡
ወክልኤ፡ኵለያቶ፡ወታ
ንብር፡ውስቲ፡ምሠዋ
ዕ፡ወሥጋ፡ላህመ፡ወመ
እስ፡ወፅፍዖ፡ታውዲ፡
አውቢአክ፡አፍአ፡እም
ደብተራ፡እስመ፡ለዓጢ
15. አትውእቱ።ወትንሥእ፡
አሐደ፡በግዕ፡ወያንብሩ፡
አሮን፡ወደቂቁ፡እደዊሆ
ሙ፡ላዕለ፡ርእስ፡በግዕ።
16. ወተሐርደ፡ለውእቱ፡
በግዕ፡ወትንሥእ፡ደሙ፡
ወትክዐ፡ውስተ፡ቤተ፡
17. መቅደስ፡ውስተ፡ኵሉ፡
አውዱ፡ትንሠንሦ፡ወት
ጠብኖ፡በበ፡መሌሊቲ፡
ወተኀፅብ፡ንዋየ፡ወክ
ጡ፡ወእገሪሁ፡ወታንብ
ር፡ርእሰ፡ውስተ፡ዘሌ
18. ሌክ፡ወታዐርግ፡ኵሉ፡
በግዖ፡ውስተ፡መሠዋ
ዕተ፡ቍርባን፡ለእግዚ
እ፡ብሔር።
19. ወንሣእ፡በግዖ፡ካልአ፡
ወያንብሩ፡አሮን፡ወደቂ
ቁ፡እደዊሆሙ፡ላዕለ፡ር
20. እሱ፡ወሕርዶ፡ወንሣእ፡
እምደሙ፡ወአንብር፡ው
ስቲ፡ካተማ፡እዝኑ፡ለ
አሮን፡እንቲ፡የማን፡ወ
ውስቲ፡ካተማ፡አጽባዕ
ቲ፡እዴሁ፡ዘየማን፡ወው
ስቲ፡ካተማ፡አጽባዕተ፡
እግሩ፡ዘየማን፡ወውስ
ቲ፡ካተማ፡እዘኒሆሙ፡በ
ደቂቁ፡አሮን፡ዘየማን፡
ወውስቲ፡ካተማ፡አጽባ
ዕተ፡እደዊሆሙ፡ዘየማ
ን፡ወውስቲ፡ካተማ፡አጽ
ባዕቲ፡እገሪሆሙ፡ዘየ
21. ማን።ወንሣእ፡እምው
ስቲ፡ደም፡ዘመሠዋዕ
ት፡ወእምውስቲ፡ቅብ
እ፡ቡሩክ፡ወትንሠንሥ፡
ላዕለ፡አሮን፡ወላዕሌ፡
አልባሲሁ፡ወእምደሙ
ሬሁ፡ላዕለ፡ደቁ፡ወላዕ
ሌ፡አልባሲሆሙ፡ይት
ቀደስ፡ውእቱ፡ወዓሬ

form that it might be read by the people; not a Hebrew Bible borrowed from the Falashas for the use of Ethiopians; not a Greek Testament adopted for a congregation, part Arab, part Israelitish, part African; but two volumes in Greek, as being vernacular to the apostle of Abyssinia, in editions both public and authenticated, that he might translate, or have them translated into the Gheez tongue, as they still call it,* *tongue of the free*, then spoken by all the Abyssinian people alike, at court, in city, in camp, in the shepherd's hovel and the wanderer's tent. And mark again: the giver of the two precious volumes was no less a person than Athanasius, a consummate master of language, skilled in Grecian subtlety of style, dwelling with holy jealousy on the most fine distinctions of his own closely pondered Greek, when employed in definitions of Christian doctrine, and leading the gravest controversy that the Church has ever known. Yet Athanasius did not discourage, but no doubt promoted the translation of the sense of inspired scripture into the every day discourse of a remote nation. He trusted a language to himself unknown, rude in vocabulary, in syntax and in genius, and as different in form from that of the apostles as could be well conceived. He confidently left it to the spirit of truth and the conscience of the translator to render Greek into Ethiopic without fearing any substantial detriment.

We are permitted to take a specimen of the venerable manuscript above-mentioned, and are content to offer the general observation on the version, that it is thoroughly Abyssinian in renderings which are in some degree paraphrastic; but while this peculiarity may detract from its value for purposes of critical collation, it adds much to

---

* Ludolfi *Lex. Ethiop.* Col. 403.

its interest for those who would catch the conceptions of the translator as to the spirit and intention of the inspired writers.

Arabic.

It was once thought that there had not been an Arabic translation of any book of Holy Scripture before Mohammed. Perhaps not; but it may with less uncertainty be affirmed, that most Christians in Arabia understood the Syriac, and that Christian teachers expounded that version to those who did not. It is quite certain that, after Syria, Arabia was one of the first fields of apostolic labour. St. Paul went thither immediately after his conversion at Damascus, following closely after the first intelligence of the Gospel brought by Jews converted at Jerusalem under the memorable sermon of St. Peter. Very early indeed the ecclesiastical historians tell us of Christian martyrs and bishops in Arabia. Episcopal cities there were not, for the plain reason that there were not any cities for that part of the Arabian peninsula where Christianity was planted. Arabia was a vast diocese, or shall we say, ecclesiastical province. But Epiphanius, writing in the fifth century, speaks of *episcopal villages*, called μητροκωμίαι.

There were not only bishops, but councils in Arabia, for keeping watch over the profession and maintenance of Christian faith. The first Arabian council was held in the year 229, when Beryllus, Bishop of Philadelphia, was convicted of entertaining wrong opinions concerning Christ. Another council, held in 247, gave sentence against Arabians who maintained that souls of men die and will come to life again with their bodies. After this their councils were more frequent and of greater influence. It is impossible to believe that in that age of Christian activity

and zeal for the truth, when the Holy Scriptures were so assiduously explained, and so largely circulated, the Arabian bishops only would be unmindful to inculcate on their flocks a due regard for the written word of God. Yet we must make great allowance for the vagrant life of Arabs, and may take into account their power of perpetuating in tales and chants what people civilised confide to books, and too often leave there unremembered.

Those village bishops, like good shepherds, led their flocks from pasture to pasture, and had no stated resting-places for themselves. In all parts of the Peninsula, and from Syria to India, their habits were alike primitive, their talents were versatile, and for some centuries, the reader of Syriac would easily explain in Arabic, and endeavour to adapt himself to fitful diversities of dialect in his various congregations. But in course of time those extemporaneous readers fell beneath the exigencies of their duty, and it is said that during the lifetime of Mohammed, between the years 569 and 632, Warka, son of Naufal, translated the Bible, or some part of it into Arabic, but that the version is no longer to be found. It may have perished, as first attempts in translation often do, when more perfect works take their place.

It is unquestionable that Mohammed knew of the Pentateuch and the Psalms, which we find sometimes written together in Arabic manuscripts, and that he had knowledge of the Gospels. In general terms he speaks of these collectively as "the Scriptures." Reland published in Arabic, with a Latin translation, a native account of the religion of the Mohammedans, which whatever was its age, coincides with the Korân itself in relation to our present subject, and contains an express acknowledgment of divine inspiration in the sacred books of Jews and Christians as well as in

his own. "Concerning the divine books," it says, "Faith in the books of God consists in our being persuaded in our mind, and confessing with our tongue that those glorious books which He sent down from heaven to His prophets come from God; which sending down from heaven has taken place without creation, and from eternity, without (material) production. In these books are contained the commands of God, with His prohibitions, and decrees, and promises, and threatenings, and declarations of what is lawful and unlawful, what is of obedience, and what is of rebellion, and where He points out retributions both by reward and punishment. All these books are the very word of God most High, a word which is read with tongues, written down in books, treasured in the minds of men. This word of God is distinct from letters and written words, but these letters and words are called by metaphor the word of God, because that is what they truly indicate. For the like reason we call that our own word which truly expresses what is laid up in our heart, for language is imparted that it may be the true index of our thoughts, and these thoughts God best knows.

"There are one hundred and four of these books, of which the most high God gave Adam ten, to Seth fifty, to Enoch (*Idris*) thirty, to Abraham ten, to Moses one, which is the Law (*Torah*), to Jesus one, which is the Gospel; to David one, which is the Book of Psalms, and to Mohammed one, which is the Korân (*Alfurcân*, or Decider). He who denies these volumes, or doubts any part of them, whether section or sentence, or word, surely he is an infidel. O God, keep us safe from infidelity!"* After this it

* Relandus *de Religione Mohammedicâ*. Ultrajecti, 1705. Pp. 19—25.

would be difficult to doubt that Mohammed found both the Old and New Testament in the hands of the Arabs when he gave them his own book which he pretended to be divine; and seeing that he placed his Korân among those books which he acknowledged to be divinely inspired, there is at least presumptive evidence that they were so regarded by those to whom he addressed himself. Perhaps the books he allotted to Abraham were those accepted by the Parsees, who held that their religion was the same as that possessed and propagated by Abraham. He may have heard of certain apocryphal Jewish or other books, and attributed them to Adam, Seth, and Enoch, as did the Zabians. Hence he gathered material for his "Decider."

Islâm, however, was to be propagated by the sword. The Korân was not translated like the Bible. A loose version was made of it in one only language, the Persian; the book itself was never to be touched with unclean hands, and therefore could not be lawfully read by any but believers in Mohammed, who proclaimed himself the last and greatest prophet of God. Herein was a perpetual contrast between the divine and the human.

An Arabian prince, about the year 680, moved John, patriarch of the Jacobites, to translate the four Gospels from Syriac into Arabic.* By this time Syriac had lost its ground as a living language, which may be partly accounted for by a remark of Philostorgius two centuries earlier, that Alexander the Great, after his conquests in Syria, sent large numbers of Syrians into Arabia, whose descendants continued to use the language of their fathers.† Every generation would be less and less able to withstand

---

* Assemanni *de Syris Nestorianis Dissertatio.* Page DXCIX.

† *Philostorgii Hist. Eccles.* III. 6.

the Arab influences, and when the wars of Mohammed after the Hegira, in 622, swept away masses of the nomade population, and his new religion threatened all the East, the Gospels opportunely appeared in the language of the Korân, and the urgent necessity for an intelligible sacred book must have been felt and acknowledged by Christians wherever the Khalifs were victorious.

So it befell the native Spaniards of Andalusia and Granada, when the population lost the use of Latin or Romance, and spoke Arabic as their mother-tongue. Hence, as Mariana affirms, Juan, the prelate of Seville, in the reign of Favila, in the year 737, "translated the Bible into the Arabic language, with the intention of helping both Christians and Moors." "There are some copies of this translation," says Mariana, "which have been preserved even to our time, and are to be seen in some parts of Spain."* Well does this historian count the Prelate of Seville among the few bright stars that shone forth amidst the darkness of night, when all things were buried in obscurity. Favila the Goth did not hinder his good work; perhaps he promoted it, like the Arabian prince above-mentioned. Unlike the Arabian were the Cardinal and Inquisitor Ximenez, the Inquisitor-General Deza, and the Pope Julius II. When Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, one of the best of men, had actually prepared an Arabic version of the Bible for the instruction of the Moorish population of the newly captured city by the army of Ferdinand and Isabella, these personages not only rebuked Hernando for his godly work, but gave him a cruel penance of three years' imprisonment as atonement for his sin.

---

* Mariana, *Historia General de España.* Lib. VII. cap. iii.

Fig. 53.

ARABIC

الثامنة

لوقا

بسم الآب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد

✻ ابتدى بمعونة الله وحسن توفيقه ✻

✻ بتثبيت الجيل لوقا البشير صاحب تلون معاليمين ✻

✻ الفصل الاول تقرا في اول حد في تيمك ✻

1

لاجل ان كثيرين راموا ان يكتبوا قصص الامور التي تحققت بها عندنا قول كما عمدنا الينا اولئك الصفوة الذين كانوا من قبل معاينين وخداما للكلمة. رايتنا اذ انا تابعا لكل شيء بتثبيت ان اكتب اليك ايها العزيز ثاوفيلا لتعرف موعظة كلام التحقيق الذي في ايام هيرودس ملك اليهودية كاهن اسمه زكريا من خدمة ابيا وامراته من بنات هرون واسمها اليصابات. وكانا كلاهما بارين قدام الله سايرين في جميع وصاياه وحقوق الرب بغير عيب ولم يكن لهما ولد لان اليصابات كانت عاقرا وكانا كلاهما قد طعنا في ايامهما. فبينما هو يكهن في ايام ترتيب خدمته امام الله كعادة الكهنوت اذ نوبته وضع البخور فدخل الى هيكل الرب وجميع الشعب يصلون في وقت البخور. فتراءى له ملاك الرب قائما عن يمين مذبح البخور فزكريا اضطرب ووقع عليه خوف فقال له الملاك يا زكريا قد سمعت طلبتك وامراتك اليصابات تلد لك ابنا.

The next translation after that of the Prelate of Seville was made by the Rabbi Saadiah, the Gaon, or President of the Jewish High School at Sora, in Babylonia. Saadiah took that post in the year 928, and died in 942. He was one of the most eminent Jews of the middle ages, and his commentaries rank with the best that have proceeded from their pens. The present writer does not undertake to say how many books of the Old Testament Saadiah translated, but describes a manuscript of his version from actual examination.* The first line is the sentence pronounced by Mussulmans before doing any new thing, and written over every chapter of the Korân: IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST MERCIFUL. Then follows, *Translation of the Psalms of David, King and Prophet of the People.* The general title of the manuscript is written in Hebrew, *An Arabic Targum on the Law by Saadiah, Son of Levi, from Morocco.* The divisions into parashioth and sections, with chapters also, are the same as in Hebrew Bibles now printed. The volume consists of Genesis, the Psalms, and the Book of Daniel. After the Psalms is a Hebrew hymn of thanksgiving to God by Saadiah, on occasion of con cluding his translation. This version, like others from Jewish pens, is adapted to public reading, each sentence, or verse, being introduced by the first word in Hebrew, which serves as a key to the words following in Arabic. By this simple arrangement, provision is made for the orderly delivery of the word of God on the principle enjoined by St. Paul, and recalls the example of Ezra. One reads and another interprets. The manuscript is modern, being only of the first half of the seventeenth century. The style of Saadiah is considered elegant, but it is too free to be faithful.

---

* British Museum.

Slavonic.

Although the Rabbinical Book of Chozri cannot be accepted as an exact history, according to our standard of rigidly circumstantial accuracy, it would be extremely uncritical to throw it aside as fiction. The existence of the Chozars, a numerous and powerful people in their time, cannot be disputed. Research into the history of the Karaite Jews is much aided by the statements of that remarkable book, and those statements are so frequently confirmed as to convince the student that there must have been a ground of truth for all that R. Judah the Levite wrote in the Karaite portion of his book. On comparing this work with others, we confidently infer that at some time in the eighth century, probably about the year 740, there was much inquiry concerning the respective merits of various religions. The name of R. Isaac, of Sangar, is inwrought with Israelitish history, and is found on a sepulchral monument in one of the very ancient cemeteries in the Crimea. In short, there is a good foundation whereupon to rest the credit of what we now produce concerning the beginning of Christianity among the Slavonians in the century following.

According to R. Judah, author of the *Sepher Chozri*, the King of Chozar summoned a Jew, a Christian, and a Mohammedan into his presence to debate on the merits of their respective religions. The Christian, or "Edomite," and the Mohammedan are represented as failing to obtain the King's acceptance of their opinions; the question then resolves itself into a discussion of the comparative merits of Rabbanism and Karaism. The former prevails, and the royal enquirer adopts Judaism with the traditions. We know not what controversies really took place, but it is certain

Fig. 54.

SLAVONIC.

ѡ ѧ ѯ ѳ ѵ ѱ ѳ ѵ ѱ ѳ ѵ ѱ

that now, after eleven hundred years have passed away, and the Chozars are a race forgotten, the Karaites flourish in South Russia; a Karaite settlement of great antiquity at this day surrounds the burial-place of Rabbi Isaac, and we can link the history of Hebrews who renounced traditions with the succeeding history of Christianity and the Bible in Slavonia.

An ancient manuscript preserved in Bolland's Acta Sanctorum appears to be the oldest and best authority for the history of Cyril and Methodius.* Messengers, it is related, came from the Chozars to the Emperor Michael III. at Constantinople, praying him to send some learned man to teach them honestly the Catholic faith, and representing that Jews and Saracens were contending against each other for the exclusive adherence of the population. Two learned and pious presbyters, Constantine and Methodius, intimate friends and fellow-students, who had gained high reputation at Constantinople, were commanded by the Emperor to devote themselves to the mission; and after earnest preparation in Bulgaria, where they mastered the language of Slavonia, they entered on their ministrations with unsparing diligence and energy, and prepared the way for Cyril's greater work.

Old Slavonic was at that time the language of many tribes, each speaking its peculiar dialect. The dialectic variations have increased with time, but the primary basis yet remains, and an educated Slavonian can now adapt his pronunciation to the uneducated portion of any of the Slavonic-speaking populations. Into this language Cyril translated the Holy Scriptures, perhaps assisted by Methodius for more perfect completion of the work. But

* March 9th, in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

before he could reduce his version to writing he had to invent an alphabet, which is to this day known as the Cyrillic, and thus he achieved for his vast flock what Ulphilas and Mesrob did for theirs. It is not likely that the original copy of the first Bible, written about the year 860, now remains, but the version is extant, and was printed in Ostrog by the pious munificence of Constantine, Duke of Ostrog, who presented it to "His beloved brethren in Christ, brethren in the Holy Ghost, and not in the flesh only;" commended it to all who knew the Slavonic language and lived in the Catholic Church; pronounced it to be the product of great study, worthy their perusal, and gave thanks to God who, in mercy towards men, had deigned to make him prince that he might see the work completed which now lay before them, even the Old and New Testament, printed in types in the year of the Creation 7801, from the birth of Christ 1581.* The Duke had long conceived a desire to print the entire Bible, but knew not where to find a copy of it until he obtained a translation from the Septuagint in manuscript from Russia. Few copies of this most beautiful volume are extant. One is in the British Museum. A fragment from a manuscript of the twelfth century is now before the reader.

Besides this biblical note, and the notice of Cyril from the Acta Sanctorum, there is a morsel from the same source which must not be withheld. Cyril and Methodius also translated a part of the Greek Liturgy into Slavonic for use in their congregations, thus following ancient examples.

"But the Apostolic and other Rulers of the Church rebuked Cyril, asking him how he could think of translating the canonical hours into Slavonic, and so changing the

* J. P. Kohlii, *Introductio in Historiam ad rem literariam Slavorum.* Altonaviæ, 1729. P. 187 *seq.*

institutions of the holy fathers. But he humbly answered, 'Fathers and Lords, will you consider the words of the Apostle where says, "Forbid not to speak with tongues" (1 Cor. xiv. 39). I have determined to follow the Apostolic teaching to which you object.' But they replied, 'Although the Apostle did advise to speak with tongues, yet by that he did not mean that divine solemnities should be sung in that very language which you have determined upon singing.' However, after the altercations on this subject had risen hotter and hotter, Cyril met them firmly with a saying of David. 'For it is written,' said he, '"*Let every breath praise the' Lord*," Πᾶσα πνοὴ αἰνεσάτω τὸν Κύριον (Ps. cl. 6). Now if every breath must magnify the Lord by praising Him, why do you forbid me to sing in the Slavonic the solemn words of sacred masses and hours? But suppose we here should wish to speak to this people in Greek or Latin, as we would not speak to any other nation, you would condemn that, and certainly I should not sanction it. But when I find this people utterly untaught and ignorant of the ways of God—and this gift which I possess was imparted to my heart by the soul-subduing influence of the Spirit of God, by which also I have won over for Him more people than can be numbered—I must therefore pray you, Fathers and Lords, to consider carefully if it would be right for me to change this manner of proceeding.'

"Then they, hearing and admiring the industry and the faith of so great a man, determined, after due deliberation, that canonical hours and solemn masses should be thenceforth so celebrated in the abovesaid order, and in the language which Cyril had appointed, in the parts of the world which he had gained over." *

---

* *B. Cyrilli, Vita ex M.S. Blanburano*, in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

But after a time the concession so reluctantly made became the occasion of great persecution, and wherever the Court of Rome has had sufficient power, the Slavonic Liturgy has been prohibited utterly, as was the Slavonic Bible, by a sweeping decree against all vernacular versions, early in the thirteenth century.

Samaritan Versions.

NOTWITHSTANDING their inveterate sectarianism, the little congregation in Samaria fully shared in the universal persuasion that the inspired Scriptures ought not to lie hidden in a dead language, and had the Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuch translated into the language spoken in Samaria after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity. The translator is not known, nor can the date be nearly conjectured, but the dialect is strongly Chaldaic, and whether the work is older or later than the Targum of Onkelos does not seem to be decided. It is printed in the Walton and Paris Polyglot Bibles, and is known as the *Chaldee-Samaritan Version.*

After the Mohammedans had forced themselves into Palestine and imposed their language on the country, the Samaritans found it necessary to have an Arabic version of their venerated Torah. This is supposed to have been made after Saadiah had published his translations and commentaries in Arabic, in order to counteract the influence of his writings on their families. Some part only of the work has been preserved in manuscript, and the fragments examined are described as paraphrastic and sectarian—ill qualities which have spoiled not a few other versions where critics find nothing to reward their study, but where critical historians may gather much to illustrate the causes

and mark the progress of corruption. They call this work the *Arabic-Samaritan.*

There is also a *Greek-Samaritan*—if indeed the name does not mislead—quoted by some Greek Scholiasts as τὸ Σαμαρείτικον. It has been supposed that such a translation was made in the time of Alexander the Great, but it is not easy to perceive the reason of a Greek version so early, long before the Greeks had time to settle in Samaria. But if the Samaritan intended by the Scholiasts was a really Samaritan production, it must have been later than the Septuagint. Leaving this question for solution, it remains undisputed that the ancestors of the little remnant at Nablús had two Oriental versions of their sacred book, Chaldee-Samaritan and Arabic.* The student who desires to master the little Samaritan learning that is accessible, may find it in the works of Walton, Morinus, Castell, and Juynboll.

Karaite Tartar.

Travellers who visit the Karaite Synagogue of Djufut Kalé in the Crimea, observe that the Lessons are read in the dialect of Tartar spoken by the Karaite Jews of that country. This is not a local custom, but is followed by the Karaites generally, who believe that while prayer should be offered in Hebrew, the Holy Tongue, for the sake of greater reverence, and being addressed to God, can be understood by Him, which is sufficient, it is proper to read God's word to men in language which *they* can understand. Provision is made accordingly in the Karaite Liturgy, and in an authorised Directory prepared for their use we also

* Walton's *Prolegomena*, edited by Archdeacon Wrangham, xi. 20.

read, "And if they will, they who read the Ten Commandments may read them each in his own Targum (or version), either in his own vernacular or in any language whatever, it being that of the people. And they shall read the Scripture verse by verse, as it is written in the order of Prayers."*

A manuscript of this version is in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which the author of these pages has carefully examined, and the reader may be gratified by the accompanying photograph. It consists of four volumes, containing all the Books of the Old Testament except the two Books of Chronicles, which the Karaites appear not to receive as inspired. The Books after the Pentateuch are arranged differently from the established order as followed by other Jews, and observed in all their Hebrew Bibles. Perhaps this marks a superior antiquity, and is supported by manuscripts of the Septuagint, oldest of the known versions. As in some passages of the New Testament, the title of *Law* is not limited to the Pentateuch, but applied to the whole of the Old Testament, so the manuscript begins with one title, comprehensive of all the books and not repeated. בשם הנמצה בצרות עזרה · ובורא עולם באמירה · אתחיל לכתוב תרגום התורה "*In the Name (of Him) that is found a help in times of need, and (of) the Creator of the world with a word spoken, I begin to write a translation of the Law.*" The first sentence of the Book of Genesis is then written in Hebrew, and again in Tartar. The first word of the second sentence in Hebrew, and the whole sentence in Tartar. So follows the entire version, as nearly word for word as possible, carefully avoiding paraphrase. No

---

* תיקון הקראים, *Institutio Karæorum nunc primum à Blasio Ugolino ex Hebraico Latinè reditum. Ugolini Thes. Antiqq. Sacrr.* Tom. XXII.

FIG. 55.

KARAITE TARTAR.

פרשת שמיני ט

ט ויקח ... ויקחו ... ויקח ... ויקחו ... ויקח ... ויקחו ...

Rabbinical writing could be more correct, and the version, the age of which may be estimated by Tartar scholars, must be later than the Masorah which it admits and follows. it also retains the Karaitic peculiarities, and in this particular confirms what has been said on a preceding page concerning vowel-points.

But this Karaite Scribe, unlike the writer of the Assyrian-pointed Book of Malachi,* had not cast off the superstition which makes the Jew shrink from finishing his reading with a word that might bode him ill. He writes like a Rabbanite where occasion bids him. So, after the concluding words of the Prophet Isaiah, "And they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh," he writes in close continuation the words of the verse immediately preceding, "And it shall come to pass that from one new moon to another, and from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord." Not content with this one comforting sentence, sadly out of place, the scribe adds another, "Blessed be the Lord for ever; Amen and Amen." And yet more is added, as if to still the faintest vibration of sound that the unlucky word "curse" may have left dying the air, he exhausts the latest particle of ink that hangs upon his reed by writing at the end of all the cheery finish תם ונשלם *perfect and completed.* These words effectually seal each book.

The caligraphy is exquisitely clear, clean, and beautiful. The Tartar is written in a firm Rabbinical Hebrew character, with the finest and blackest ink. The Scribe's hand was at once unfaltering and exact, although years must have been spent in the labour. The very handiwork seems

---

* See page 93, *supra.*

instinct with satisfaction, and in the last stroke the pencil which traced the first line shines out again beautifully—In the Name that is found a Help in times of need.

Romance and German.

The establishment of the Inquisition in the pontificate of Innocent III.; the sanguinary military persecution* of alleged heretics; the prohibition of vernacular versions of the Bible; these are features of European history during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which indicate a deep and widely-spread religious awakening, and we find that the familiar reading of Holy Scripture was at once the cause and the consequence of it all.

If it be a question whether the subjects of this persecution had Bibles in their own spoken languages, the answer is ready from the lips of many witnesses. A century and half before Charlemagne it was the custom in Germany and France for the bishop or a priest to explain to the people *en langue rustique* the lessons read in Latin from the Old and New Testaments appointed in the Lectionary. This kind of solemn reading with interpretation was not confined to the Lectionary only, but was carried into the sermon as in the days of the apostles. For example:—The abbot of St. Gall being in Rhœtia, was one day requested to go into the pulpit and address a congregation who could not understand a sentence of his discourse. He did as desired, and expounded a passage of Holy Scripture,

* *Militaris Persecutio* is mentioned by Rainerus de Pisis in his *Pantheologia*, a huge alphabetical dictionary, in two elephant folio volumes, printed at Nuremberg, in 1477. It is a universal directory for priests, and under the word *Hæresis*, "military persecution" stands as the quickest and surest recognised means for extirpating heresy.

but the bishop of the diocese stood beside him, and interpreted his homily to the barbarians in their native dialect. This was the general custom, but when ignorance had disqualified most of the priests from translating out of Latin, Charlemagne, although said to be himself illiterate, gave them strict injunctions to qualify themselves by humble study for teaching the people the meaning of the word of God.* He employed Alcuin, our countryman, to revise the whole Latin Bible, punctuate it, and correct the errors of copyists which had crept into the text. Under this imperial influence the Bible passed more perfectly from priests to people. Courtiers, imitating the sovereign, betook themselves to reading it; the sacred volume was all at once admitted into general favour, and persons wrote to Alcuin from all parts of the empire begging for explanation of passages they did not understand. Noble lords and ladies pressed forward for instruction, while Charlemagne encouraged the movement, and among other good advices, exhorted masters in cathedral schools to get children to write out passages from the purer text of recently corrected Bibles. These passages were then explained to the young copyists in their own language. This process was probably facilitated by the custom of interlineary glossing previously established, as the masters might use glossed copies.

In the same capitulary it was ordained that vulgar psalms composed by private persons should not be recited in the churches, nor books read that are not in the canon of Holy Scripture, but that all psalms and lessons were to be taken from the Bible itself. The list of canonical books was then given, and it is the same as ours.

In the year 807 Charlemagne caused the Bible to be

---

* *Capitularia Regum Francorum.* Tom. I. p. 202.

translated into German by three clerks, Strabo, Haimo, and Rabanus, said to be learned men.

About 820, Otfried, a Benedictine monk, and disciple of Rabanus, composed what some call a metrical harmony of the four Evangelists, in the old German. The first editors of Otfried's books of Gospels say that they saw a real version of the book of Psalms at Strasburg. This translation, said to have been made by Louis le Debonnaire, is in Schilter's Thesaurus.*

In 920, Notker, the thick-lipped, translated the books of Job and the Psalms into vulgar German, but his rendering does not follow the Latin original either in sense or quantity for many lines together.

M. Le Roux† informs us of his own knowledge that in the twelfth century versions of the Bible and of biblical works abounded in France, and that those translations were as numerous, proportionally, in the libraries of France, as in the cabinet of manuscripts in the Rue de Richelieu. "There is not a single provincial library," he says, "possessing manuscripts of the middle age, that has not one or more translations of the Bible in prose or verse." These prose or verse versions were deplorably loose, but, nevertheless, they were diligently discouraged by the priests, and the wide circulation and perusal of them must have produced a certain degree of religious knowledge, and created a desire for more.

Innocent III., in a brief dated from the Lateran in the year 1199, and addressed to "all Christ's faithful people in the city and diocese of Metz," says that his venerable

---

* *Recueil des historiens de France.* Tome IIme, p. 226.

† *Les Quatre Livres des Rois, traduits en Français du* XIIme. *Siècle,* etc. Paris: 1841. In the collection of *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Deuxième Série.*

brother, the Bishop of Metz, has lately sent him information that, both in the city and the diocese, no small multitude of laymen and of women also, drawn by a certain desire for the Scriptures, have had the gospels, the epistles of Paul, the Psalter, and the morals of Job, with many other books, translated for themselves into the Gallic speech, by which proceeding he understands them to mean that laymen, and also women, presume to discourse together freely—"O that it were prudently!—on such matters in secret meetings, and preach to one another."* In a separate letter on the same subject, addressed to the bishop and chapter in the same city, he commanded them to "inquire narrowly who was the author of that version, what was his object in making it, what the faith of those who used it, and for what cause those people undertook to teach."

Waldensian.

The Waldenses, incorrectly so called, as if their name were taken from Peter Waldo, one of their most eminent ministers, were the Vaudois, or dwellers in the valleys of Piedmont. The chief authority on their affairs is M. Leger, pastor and moderator of their church, whose admirable history of his people and their sufferings was printed in Leyden in 1669. In that work he gives a catalogue of manuscripts sent to England by Sir Samuel Morland, whom Oliver Cromwell had sent to Piedmont with relief to the survivors of the last great massacre, and instructions to collect authentic information, which information is perpetuated in a singularly instructive volume. According

---

* Innocent III. *Regestarum.* Lib. II. Epistt. 141, 142.

to this catalogue, there was in the fifth manuscript volume a translation into the Vaudoise language of the book of Proverbs. The sixth parchment volume contained in very ancient writing the gospels according to St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians, the first to the Thessalonians, the second to Timothy, the Epistle to Titus, the first and second Epistles of St. Peter, and the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Leger says that while writing his history he retained in his possession a very ancient Vaudoise Bible which had been lost, but was recovered by himself in the mountains of the valley of Cluson. He also says that M. Perrin, when preparing for his history of the Vaudois and Albigenses, had in his possession a parchment manuscript of the New Testament in the Vaudoise language, very well written, although in a dialect very old indeed, *fort ancienne.**

All the manuscripts described in Leger's catalogue were deposited in the library of the University of Cambridge, but have been stolen thence, and are not yet found. Otherwise one precious page might have been traced or photographed for this volume.† It might have been possible to ascertain the age of the version. They say that it was made by Stephen de Ansa for Peter Waldo some time within the years 1170—1180. As it is, a perusal of the documents happily preserved by the Leyden printers two centuries ago, assures us that for many ages before they

---

* *Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangeliques des Vallées de Piémont ou Vaudoises.* Par JEAN LEGER, Pasteur et Moderateur des Eglises des Vallées. Leyde: 1669. Pp. 21—23, 25.

† Since writing this, a fragment has been found.

FIG. 56.

WALDENSIAN MS.

loq̃l es è huel donare liben ah dèmàdàt aſi. D. totas las co luc.6.e
ſas q̃las q̃ls uos uole q̃ luſ. fagan auos euos faze alō. L. tob.4.c
aq̃ſta es la ley ebpl̃ta. Intra p leſtreita porta car larga es
la porta e ſpacioſa lauia laq̃l mena apdutò emolt̃ aq̃llo luc.13.e
q̃ intrà p lei. D conua es ſtreita la porta e aſpra lauia laq̃l
amena a uita epor ſò aq̃llo q̃ trobà ley. Gardauos de
li fals pp̃has laq̃l uenò auos è ueſtimetas de feas. D. de luc.6.f 5
dmz ſon lops roubadors ah fruz delor conoiſſe lor. D. col
hò huas deſpmas oſigas de cardons. L nay. lobon albre
fay bons frucs. D. lo mal albre fa mals frucs. Lo bon
albre nò po far mals frucs ni lo mal albre far bons frucs
Tot albre loq̃l nò fa bons frucs ſe talha e eſe mes alfuoc
D. ah fruc delor conoiſſe lor. Tot aq̃l q̃ di ami oſegnor ſup.3.e
oſegnor nò intrare al regne dluzel. D. aq̃l q̃ fa la uoluita luc.3.b
del meo pare loq̃l es è huzel el meſeỹ. intrare al regne del luc.6.g
zel. Moti dzen ami enaq̃l dia. D oſegnō oſegnō donca nò luc.13.e
pfetzè nos al teo nom egiten demois al teo nom efazè f
motas útuz al teo noz. L yo profeſſarei a lor adonca. D. uos
tuit laq̃l obra malta dpteuos dem. L vnq̃ nò conoc uos pō.6.c
D. tot aq̃l loq̃l au aq̃ſtas mias pollas efay lor ſe ſẽblàt ifa.29.d
al baró ſauu loq̃l hedifiq̃ la ſoa maiſò ſobre la perra. E luc.13.f
la ploya deſcẽde eli fluz negró eli vent buffero e ebri luc.6.g
uero enaq̃lla meiſon enò cagut. L. era fida ſob. la fẽma reb.2.b
perra. E tot aq̃l q̃ au aq̃ſtas mias pollas e nò fa lor ſaze iacob.1.d
ſemblàt al baron fol loq̃l hedifiq̃ la ſoa maiſon ſobre la

were transferred to type the Vaudois children were taught to recite the Nobla Leyçon, and their fathers possessed a Bible which all could read and understand. Then, when their brethren were slaughtered, their habitations burnt down, their Bibles destroyed, and their own lives in peril, their itinerant pastors, footsore and hungry, met them in the depths of mountain-wildernesses, and taught them to lay up in their memory, word by word, the divine sentences which being treasured there no man could take away.

"The Book of Sentences" published from the original manuscript, word for word, by Limborch, contains abundant incidental evidence that the opinions, or faith of Albigenses, Waldenses, and Beguins, were gathered from the Bible as they believed,—whether those opinions were *all* scriptural is not now the question—and much is said of one Peter John Olive who had read a postil on the Apocalypse in the vulgar tongue; but there is also distinct mention of a translation of the gospels and epistles read in the meetings of the Waldenses. ¶Item scivit, & vidit, & audivit, quod Valdenses predicant credentibus suis aliquando post cenam de nocte de evangelüs & de epistolis in vulgari. "*Also*," says the notary of the Inquisition of Toulouse, "*he knew, and saw, and heard, that the Waldenses preach to their own believers sometimes after supper* (Holy Communion?) *by night out of the gospels and out of the epistles in the vulgar.*" Philibert was a priest sent by the Inquisitors to hunt out Waldenses and bring them to their tribunal, but these preachings out of the epistles and gospels in the vulgar tongue brought him over to their faith, and he was therefore degraded from the priesthood, and burnt in the year 1318, at least six years

after his first communication with them.* Vernacular scripture is inseparable from living Christianity.

Even now, the still existing remnant of that Alpine Church is a Bible-monument as real as Christianity itself. Down-trodden though it was, it has endured. It lives and speaks. It proclaims with human tongue a confirmation of the Saviour's promise that though heaven and earth perish, His words shall never pass away.

Paraphrastic Writings.

If the present object were to classify languages, Teutonic or German versions would immediately follow Gothic. But it is only desired to note a treatment of the Sacred Text, which is rather paraphrase than translation, and often less than paraphrase. Examples of this treatment are found in Alemannic, German, and Anglo-Saxon works.

At the very time when literal translations were made both by Jews and Christians—when the most eminent students of Holy Scripture were proceeding with intuitive reverence for that which is divine, weighing scrupulously every syllable of the Sacred Books—some less thoughtful, but more imaginative, spirits introduced a new and more than questionable method. We would not accuse them of any intention to do wrong. They could not have meant to supersede the solemn reading of the Bible, word by word, for they wrote parts thereof in the form of lectionaries, and read them on days and times appointed.

---

* *Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tholosanæ ab anno Christi* CIↃCCCVII. *ad annum* CIↃCCCXXIII. Fol. 123. b.

They were actuated by a sincere desire to convey the facts and truths of Holy Scripture to the ear of the untaught in attractive language, and to kindle by poetic imagery a stronger wish in "them that were without" to penetrate the veil, and ascertain the truth itself by studious perusal of the Holy Book.

Juvencus, a Spaniard, perhaps a Roman by descent, if he were not a Christian Goth, led the way in this erratic method early in the fourth century. Jerome, himself pre-eminent for diligence in translating with literal exactness, and ever studying to guard the sacred text against corruption, saw no harm in the work of Juvencus, which he cordially commended and thus describes:—"Juvencus, a Spaniard of very noble family, a presbyter, translating the four Gospels, almost word for word, in hexameter verses, composed four books, besides a few relating to the order of sacraments in the same measure. He flourished under Constantine the Prince."* In a letter to Magnus, a Roman orator, Jerome says again; "In the time of Constantine, the presbyter Juvencus explained in verse the history of the Lord our Saviour, nor did he fear to lay the majesty of the Gospel under the laws of metre."† The majesty of the Gospel might seem to be exalted for the time, but the text of the Evangelist could not be superseded without eventual injury to the Gospel itself, and Jerome could not be aware that, in the warmth of his admiration, he made some sacrifice of truth. Juvencus had not translated "almost word for word." Let the reader judge for himself by the following description of the advent of the Magi who came to worship Christ:—

---

* *Catalogus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum.* XCIV.

† *Epist.* LXXXIII.

"Gens est Eöi, Phœbo orto proxima regni
Astrorum solers ortusque notare;
Hujus primores nomen tenuere Magorum:
Hinc lecti proceres, Solymas per longa viarum
Deveniunt, regemque adeunt, orantque doceri
Quæ regio imperio Puerum Judæa teneret
Progenitum; et sese stellæ fulgentes ab ortu.
Admonitos venisse viam, quo supplice dextra
Exortum terris venerabile Numen adorent."

This is anything but a translation almost *ad verbum*, and the following conceit, although much like some of Jerome's own comments, is far indeed from the sobriety proper for a translator—

"Thus, aurum, myrrham, regique, hominoque, deoque,
Dona ferunt."

So long as catechists and preachers were content to perform their ministrations with serious adherence to truth, this might be harmless, perhaps now and then useful to rouse attention; but when it became customary to substitute for the word of God a class of writings which superseded the very reading of that word, the peril of paraphrase, whether in prose or verse, was most lamentably manifest.

In closely succeeding ages, when Latin lost its purity, and the secondary languages of Southern Europe were as yet imperfect, little or no literary use was made of them, and for a long time national literature, apart from the Latin of the Church, had no existence. Latin degenerated lower and lower; so did religion. The human mind sank into frivolity more and more barbarous. Prudentius, in the latter part of the fourth century, followed Juvencus, his countryman, as a Christian poet, but his writings are less distinctly biblical.

Amidst the ignorance and follies of the middle ages,

FIG. 57.

PARAPHRASTIC.

Arthena berg uppan brahtmu thiu
mikilon. LVIII.

Vvrecha uuapan berand uuisda im iu
das gram hugdig mann iudeon after
sigun friondo folc scipi druog man fiur
angimang logna anliohte facon ledda
mann faclun brinnandi fanburg.
Thar sia an thena berg upp stigun mid
stridu thia stedi uuissa iudas uuell huar
hie thia liudi thuo ledian scolda gagda
im thuo tetekne thuo sia thar thuo
fuorun them folc scipe biforan te
thiu that sia nefar fengin thar er
los odran man. Ik gangu im at erist
tuo quat hie. Cussiu ina endi quedda
that ist crist selbo thena gi faban
sculun folko crafta bindan uppan
themo berge endi thburg hinan le
dian under thia liudi hie is libes habid.
Mid uuordon far uuerod uuerod
frthoda thuo unt that sia tecristte
cumana uuurthun grim folc iudeo
no thar hie midi iungron stuod

there is much in relation to the Bible that cannot be thought of without regret. The clergy of Western Christendom were poorly taught, and even the most intelligent among them knew little or nothing of the Hebrew and Greek languages, which might have been utterly lost if oppressed and wandering Jews had not faithfully preserved the former, and if the Turks had not driven some Greeks westward to teach Christians how to read the latter. The original Scriptures, therefore, were almost unknown. Even the Latin Bible was but imperfectly understood, except by a very few of the more intelligent ecclesiastics, and but partially read, without interpretation, to congregations who, for the most part, neither knew, nor cared to know, its meaning.

The wise men of those times thought it enough to compose a Gospel tale mingled with inventions of their own, to keep on hand for pulpit-service a few extravagant stories on the incidents of our Saviour's life, or the history of Abraham, or Moses, to draw grotesque pictures of the personages of sacred story, and write quaint legends under them. At a later time, when block-printing was discovered, the *Biblia Pauperum*—poor men's Bible—was substituted for the real book, and supplied amusement instead of ministering truth. The Song of Solomon was idly wrought out by persons like the monk Willeram into coarse caricatures of the spiritual love of Christ and the Church. Men in those days did not look on such inventions with discernment enough to see their folly, yet there must have been some latent notion that behind the monkish fancies there might be hidden a store of wisdom yet to be revealed. People sometimes heard mention of a venerable book wherein were contained many golden sentences of heavenly wisdom. Here and there a faithful

teacher would openly expound God's own Book to the best of his ability. Hidden though it was, the Book could not be buried. There is a tradition of translations into the old Alemannic of very early date, and Montfaucon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, speaks of manuscripts of the kind in Italian libraries. The first printed German Bible was from the press of Faust and Schöffer, in the year 1462, nearly a century before the completion of Luther's Bible, and its original is described as an old manuscript. There was another well known copy written in 1406. The printed Bible of 1462 was examined by John David Michaelis, who wrote an elaborate *Commentatio*,* wherein he points out that it is in a dialect closely resembling that of Otfried and Notker the thick-lipped, whom I now mention, and to whom should be added Willeram. Michaelis gives an example from Ps. ii. 1, where the word *grisgrammen* answers to Notker's *Ziu griseramoten.*

Whether Frankish, or Franco-Theotisc, or Low Saxon is the proper name of these dialects, must be decided by scholars who have mastered them. The versions, if they may be so called, are not mentioned here on account of their age, nor for their literary value, but because they serve to exemplify the laxity prevailing in regard to the Biblical texts, a laxity sharply contrasting with the exquisitely clear declaration of our Lord, that not the smallest letter or the finest vowel-stroke should ever fail from the written Law of God, and utterly unlike the precision of the simple Syriac, or the scrupulous accuracy of the Jewish Masōrah.

To return to Otfried: his "History of Christ," most

---

* *Gottingæ.* 1759.

incorrectly called a Harmony of the Evangelists, deserves distinct notice. They account him pious and learned. They say that he was moved to undertake his work by the suggestions of some of his brother monks, but more effectually constrained to it by the importunity of Judith, a venerable matron, who hoped that by giving the laity Gospel rhymes to sing, they might be gradually induced to prefer such subjects to their old licentious songs. The Old Testament had already furnished material for German songs to be adopted with a like intention, from the pen of a Saxon. Otfried's work was submitted for approval to his archbishop, Liudbert, who received it favourably, on consideration, as he said, that the poet was a disciple of Rabanus Maurus.* The custom of versifying now came into fashion. Emperors and kings, our own Alfred included, favoured it. So did stage mysteries, and so did "poor men's bibles." Picture, song, and play were put in the stead of earnest instruction and fervent prayer. It is said, however, that about thirteen years later Charlemagne ordered a real version of the Bible to be made into German. But Otfried's method continued to be popular. A few lines of his work, with a Latin translation, will be found in the Appendix.†

Notker, who died in the year 1022, made a version of the Psalter and the book of Job, which is preserved entire in the same Thesaurus.‡

King Canute, who reigned from A.D. 1016 to 1035, is said to have possessed the manuscript sometimes called

---

* *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti, Auct. Dom.* J. MABILLONE. Lib. XXXVI. Cap. 48.

† Appendix D.

‡ *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum.* Ulmæ: 1728.

Canute's Bible.* Its proper title is Heliand, *Healer*, or *Saviour*, the word used for JESUS. Like Otfried's History, it contains a very loose paraphrase of the Gospels, or rather of passages selected from them. It cannot be later than Otfried, and may be older. The language is very similar. It does not seem to be written for song, yet has a measured cadence. The whole manuscript is copied into Hickes' Thesaurus,† with a Latin version. The page before us contains a rendering of that part of the sacred narrative which describes Judas leading up the Mount of Olives the multitude who came with staves and lanterns to take Jesus, and His betrayal with a kiss.

One late example shall serve to show how widely paraphrase may diverge from version. Jerome Xavier, a Jesuit missioner, in faithful imitation of his brethren in Europe, wrote or obtained a "History of Christ" and a "History of Peter," in Portuguese, specially adapted for the delusion of heathens in the East. It was then translated into Persian, and used largely in India. Ludovicus de Dieu printed it at Leyden with a Latin version and notes. The first "book" is instead of the Gospels, and the second instead of the Epistles. The most absurd fables ever invented in the middle ages fill the volume. There is no allusion, I think, to the original Scriptures, and the whole is laid down with an air of absolute authority. For the purpose, then, of observing to how remote a distance from the truth they may wander who once depart from it but a little, this production may be contrasted with the original New

---

* COTTONIAN. *Caligula* A. vii.

† *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus. Auct. Geo. Hickesio, S.T.P.* Oxon. 1705.

Testament, and with the Old Testament may be contrasted the Talmud. But the latter contrast is not nearly so violent as the former.*

Having wandered so far on the track of intellectual decay, we will now return to the good old path of honest literal translation.

English.

We do not hear of any early Anglo-Saxon version, even of a single book in a separate form, but find an interlinear gloss of the New Testament made in the eighth century, for the use of the priests rather than for the perusal of the laity, which reminds us that the arrival of the monk Augustine in the south, followed by the establishment of a Romanised Saxon Church, did little to bring the Bible into the hands of the people. In the North of England, however, there was a more active and practical spirit.

On the coast of Northumberland, not many miles below the mouth of the Tweed, lies a little island, only quite separate from the mainland at high tide. It is now called Holy Island, but in olden time bore the name of Lindisfarne or Lindisfearne. Between the years 633 and 794 there was a flourishing scholastic institution here, originally founded by Aidan, a warm-hearted Irishman, but at last utterly annihilated by the Danes. Aidan, at first a missionary in Northumberland, and then bishop, fixed his episcopal see in Lindisfarne, and erected a monastery there, in connection with his cathedral church. By the unanimous testimony of

---

* *Historia Christi Persicè conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, à P. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu. Latinè reddita et animadversionibus notata à Ludovico de Dieu. Lugd. Batav.* 1639. *Historia Petri*, etc. Same place and date.

those who knew him he was exemplary in all his conduct, read the Bible much, and exhorted both clergy and laity to do the same. The oldest known English manuscript was written in the monastery of Lindisfarne. First of all, Ældfrith, successor of Cuthbert in the see of Lindisfarne, wrote the four Gospels in Latin, about the year 680, with his own hand; the manuscript still remains in perfect preservation. It is in the British Museum,* and is commonly known as "The Durham Book," perhaps because it was conveyed from Lindisfarne to Durham, then metropolis of the Northern Province, in apprehension of the threatened invasion of the little island by the Danes. We have been permitted to trace a column from this most precious manuscript, which for its historic character, even more than the beauty of its caligraphy, requires an exact description.

It contains the four Gospels in the Latin of St. Jerome, with his prefaces prefixed, and the Eusebian canons. The parchment is of the finest quality, and the writing admirable; so clear, so regular, so firm, that good Bishop Ældfrith must have made it matter of conscience to leave no blur, nor any trace of negligence whatever. The ink is purest black, and as nearly unfading as can be imagined, seeing that it has lain on those leaves almost twelve hundred years. No cost nor care could have been spared to obtain the very best material. The pages are mellowed and enriched with time, and the sacred lines are nowhere imperfect or indistinct. Obviously, it was meant to serve as a lectionary, and is divided accordingly, a *capitulum*, or synoptical summary, being prefixed to each lesson. The lines are so well apart, and the letters so square, and so well dwarfed as to admit over each an interlinear trans-

* Cottonian. Nero D. iv.

lation of every word in *English* (Englisc), or as we now call it, Anglo-Saxon. It is supposed that Ældfrith completed his work about the year 680, but the English of the subscription at the end, written in red ink with a fine pen, was much later, and could have been finished but a short time before the monastery and church, with all that was on the little island was wasted by the Danes, in 795.* The column we have to lay before our readers contains the capitulum prefixed to the Gospel according to St. John.

The summary of the first section of the Gospel is written stichometrically, without stops, with the usual abbreviations, and the words but slightly divided, or, when very close, distinguished only by a ligature. About the middle of the column the commencement of a paragraph is marked by two small capitals. It may be read as follows:—

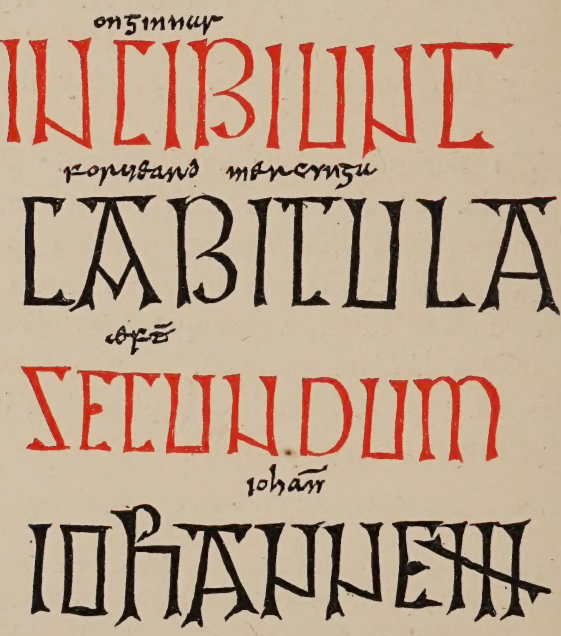
In principio Verbum. Deus apud Deum. Per quem facta sunt omnia. Et Johannes refertur ante eum; (*eum*) qui recipiunt esse facit filios Dei per gratiam suam. Interrogantibus Judaeis, Johannes negat se esse Christum, sed missum se ante illum, vocemque esse clamantis in deserto secundum Esaiam enuntiat. Ipsum vero fatetur agnum tollentem peccata mundi, et baptizantem in spiritu sancto, eo quod ipse sit supra omnes.

---

* Hickes, in the third part of his *Thesaurus Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium*, Oxoniæ MDCCIV., observes that Ældfrith, eighth bishop of Lindisfarne, and immediate successor of Cuthbert, was consecrated A.D., 688 and probably began his work about 686, Cuthbert being yet alive, and perhaps directing him at its commencement. Æthilwald was promoted to the see A.D. 721. Of the age of Aldred nothing certain is known, but he must have completed his gloss within the seventy-four years that intervened between the consecration of Æthilwald, and the invasion of the Danes.

The Word in the beginning. God with God. By whom all things were made. And before him John relates (that) *they who shall receive* (Him) *He makes to be sons of God by His grace. To the Jews questioning John denies himself to be the Christ, but declares that he is sent before Him, and that he is the voice of one crying in the wilderness, according to Isaiah. But he confesses Him to be the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, and baptizeth in the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as He is above all.*

On the page preceding this capitulum was written a beautiful *incipit*, which we also exhibit.



At the end of all, the author and writer of the gloss made the following diffuse subscription:—

× The threefold and the onefold God this Gospel before the worlds determined

Fig. 58.

ENGLISH.

The Durham Book.

inspirma t

BRIN

mſma nond t cruſt ubr

capio uerõz

zod mid

os apud

zode dæh dæne ilca

dm perquem

zeponht peron alle

facta suntomnia

7 johañ

Iohannes

ꝺ poone zeſendeð zeraȝð ſr

missus reperat

ærtbefu him ſade ær

ante eum qui nec

onfar ꝺhia rꝑ zeſrecer rꝑno zoddes

pleni esse facit filios di

ſæh zeuca hiſ

per gratiam suam

ꝺiem pnaſendnm uðe-m

Hic interrogauerunt iudaei

ioh onfræcer hine ꝺ hęſrið

iohannes negat se esse

criſt ah ꝺ zeſende pine hæmlſ bęfe

xpm sed missum se ante

-ꝺem ær ꝺrtern ꝺte hiſ pine

illum uocem q: esse

cleoppender inyoſtern

clamantis in deserto

-bęſ- ſranaſ ꝺiem yſtza

secundum esaiam

zeraȝzeð ðe ilca ꝺrſblice

etiam qui ipsum uero

zeondæt læmb uæſende t monende

pateat agnum tollente

ſrnno middangeandeſ -ðe fyl

peccata mundi ecce ap

uande mhal ze zeſeze ron

Ipse autem inspu sco eo

ðon ðilca ſiſtiſ onyra

quod ipse sit supra

allum t oꝑ allę

omnes

× Trinus et unus dŝ evangelium hoc ante saecula constituit

first from the mouth of Christ wrote

× Matthaeus exore Xtī scripsit

from the mouth of Peter wrote

× Marcus exore Petri scrīpst.

out of the mouth of Paul the apostle wrote

× Lucas de ore pauli ap̄ scrips

John in the introduction again set forth

× Ioh̄ in prohemio deinde eructavit

the word. With God's grace and the holy Ghost's power John wrote

verbum dō donante et spū sco scrip.

† Ældfrith bishop of Lindisfearnin's church, he this book wrote before God and St. Cuthbert and all the saints that are peculiarly around this island;

& Æthilwald bishop of Lindisfearne island covered it with ornament and picture as well as he could & Wilfrid the anchorite he laid on the ornaments that are on the outside, and adorned it with gold and with gems also with silver gilded it off, blameless of taking payment*

&† Aldred presbyter indignus et miserrimus with God's help and St. Cuthbert's glossed it off in English (ꝸnglıꝛc) and completed it with the three parts: Matthew's, part to God and St. Cuthbert. Mark's part to the Bishop. And Luke's part to the brotherhood and eight *ors* of silver with God and St. Cuthbert, and of St. John the part for himself, that he may obtain acceptance through God's mercy in heaven, health and peace on earth, progress and attainment of wisdom and prudence through St. Cuthbert's earning.

× Eadfrith, Œthilwald, Billfrith, Aldred, hoc evangelium deo et Cuthberto construxerunt et ornaverunt.

---

* . . . *blameless of taking payment.* So I venture to suggest the sense of the words ꝑaconleꝛr ꝑeh, which Lye explains by *sine fraude, simplex, innocuus*, and *pecunia, nummus*, or I would say, *fee.*

† In this space the word ꝛc is faintly apparent in the manuscript. It was written by Aldred himself, but humility required an erasure, that it might not be read *I, Aldred, an unworthy and most miserable presbyter, glossed.*

After the first mention of his name, Aldred the glosser wrote in the margin a little account of himself in these words:—

"Ælfredi natus Aldredus vocor
Bonæ mulieris filius eximius loquor."*

The adorning of the sumptuous volume is admirable, and the internal method somewhat instructive, but the spirit of the long subscription betrays excessive self-complacency—far too high an estimation of the value of their workmanship by one of the workmen.

Not in verse only, but in paraphrase and picture, the Anglo-Saxons displayed their genius in setting forth passages of Bible-story. Another of our leaves displays a page from Ælfric's pictorial Pentateuch, consisting of two quaint groups with an explanatory sentence under each. The first reads thus:—

"God verily punished Pharaoh, then king, with those many wise ones, and all his household, for Sarai, Abram's wife. Pharaoh then called Abram, and said to him: How is this? Why didst thou so with me? Why wouldest thou not say that she is thy wife? For what cause saidest thou that she is thy sister? Even now, here is thy wife. Take her and get thee away."

The second is:—

"Abram then departed from Egypt-land with all his fare, and Pharaoh the king found him leading-men, and Lot fared forth with him, or that they came to Southdale, between Bethel and Hai, to that place that there thou hast once reared an altar, and they both abode there."

---

* Aldred was a fine penman, but a poor Latinist, as some of his renderings make evident. He must have had a meaning of his own for *eximius*.

FIG. 59.

ENGLISH.

PAGE FROM ÆLFRIC'S ANGLO-SAXON PARAPHRASE OF THE PENTATEUCH AND BOOK OF JOSHUA.

Gōd ꝓdlice beſſpang ꝓaraо ꝥone cyning·mid þam mæſtū ꝓicū·
ȝealne hyꝛ hīred·ꝓoꝛ ꝓaraı abꝛaмeꝛ ꝓīꝛe·ꝓaraо ðahte cly-
ꝛian abꝛam ⁊ ſeꝛæd hī to; Hꝛæt la hꝛi dyðeſt ðu ſſa ꝓið me.
hꝛi noldeꝛt ðu ꝛeċȝan ꝥ heo ſin ꝓiꝛ yꝛ. ꝓoꝛ hꝛylcon mtingan
ꝛæðeꝛt ðu ꝥ heo ðin ſpuꝛtoꝛ. ꝓæꝛe; Efne nu hīi yꝛðm ꝓiꝛ.
nim hig and ꝛaꝛde aꝛtȝ:

Abꝛam ꝛa ꝛeſide oꝛ egyꝛta lande mid ealre hyꝛ ꝛaꝛe.
⁊ ꝛaraо ꝛeċyning hī ꝓunde lad men ⁊ loth ꝓhide ꝓoꝛð
mid hī oðð æt hī comon toꝛuðdæle. betꝛux bethel ⁊ hái·
todæꝛe ſtōꝛe ꝛe he ðæt ꝓeoꝛod ðꝛi aꝛiſide. ⁊ ȝebēd hyne ðæꝛ

FIG. 60.

ENGLISH.

ANGLO-SAXON.

Soþlice he þpæt beme. gif gehiþþa þũ
negelyfað. huge lyfege minũ popdum;
þẽ þyfon fopi se hælend opep þa gali
leiscean þé. seo is tibepiað. him þý
lide mycel polc fopþã þe hiʒe þapon þa
tácna þe he poplite on þã de þæpon ge.
unfpumode; Þpodlice se hælend aſtah
on anne munt 7 þær þap mid his leop
nung embron. hit pæs gehende eafter þon
ude ea þpeolf dæge;
Þa se hælend his eagan úp ahóf 7 ʒe seah
þ mycel polc cõm to him. he cwæð to philippe;

An Anglo-Saxon fragment from a manuscript that passed through the fire in the conflagration of Sir Robert Cotton's library is a specimen of real translation, not interlinear, but independent and literal, close to its original, with exception of the first word, *verily*, which does not answer to *enim*, nor is it to be accounted for by any various reading in the manuscripts, but is usual in Anglo-Saxon. Although the parchment shrank and broke under the heat, the writing is perfectly clear, and the character of the version may perhaps be estimated from the following rendering into our present English:—

"Verily, he wrote of me. If ye do not believe his letters, how will ye believe my words? After these things, the Saviour (*Healer*) went over the Galilean Sea; this is Tiberiadis. Him followed much people, forasmuch as they had seen the tokens which he wrought on them that were afflicted. But the Saviour went up upon a mountain and sate there with his learning-servants. It was drawing near to Easter, a Judea feast-day.

"When the Saviour lifted up his eyes, and saw that much people came to him, he quoth to Philip. . . ."*

Wycliffe.

We cannot lay aside the pen without rendering a tribute to the memory of John Wycliffe, rector of Lutterworth. It is enough to repeat his name, which is intimately interwoven with the religious history of the fourteenth century, not only in England, but all over Europe, and especially in Bohemia. His biography has been carefully written by at least three English authors, whence the reader may

* John v. 46, 47; vi. 1, 5.

derive abundant information concerning this first translator of the entire Bible into the English language.*

This important version, made directly from the Latin Vulgate, must have been in hand for a long time before its completion in or about the year 1380. Wycliffe was not prompted to enter on so great a labour by mere literary zeal. The revival of letters had not sprung up in Italy, nor was the name of Chrysoloras heard of in England, when this eminent priest, at that time a poor young man. incited by a strong desire to raise up his countrymen out of gross ignorance, and consequent wretchedness, secretly resolved that he would not rest until he had provided a Bible for them in their own language, which might eventually bring the word of God to the knowledge of the poorest cottager.

A few lines from a manuscript copy preserved in Sion College, London, may fitly follow this account of the principal versions of antiquity, and present a specimen of the unprinted Bible which, five centuries ago, so powerfully contributed to establish the reading of Holy Scriptures in the homes of Englishmen, and thereby to recall the customs and revive the spirit of primitive Christianity.

---

* For much information see *The Holy Bible in the earliest English versions, made from the Latin Vulgate, by John Wycliffe and his followers.* Edited by Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden, Oxford: 1850. Vol. I.

Fig. 61.

ENGLISH. WYCLIFFE.

he ſay̆ ihū: fel doū biſore hym and he cryynge wt̄ a greet
voys: ſeide what to me ⁊ to yee: ihū ye ſone of ye hyeſt
god: y beſeche yee yat p̄ tur mente not me ffor he com
aūdide ye vnclene ſpirit: yat he ſchulde go out fro ye
mā ffor he took hym oft̄e tymes and he was boūdū wt̄
cheynes ⁊ kept in ſtockis ⁊ whāne ye boondis weren
broſū: he was led of deuelis i to deſert and ihc axide
hym ⁊ ſeide what name is to yee ⁊ he ſeide Alegioū for
many deuelis were entrid in to hī and yei p̄yeden hym
yat he ſchulde not comaūde hem yat yei ſchulde go in
to helle and p̄ was a flok of many ſwyne: ſelewynge i
an hil ⁊ yei p̄yeden hym: yat he ſchulde ſuffre hem to en
tre in to hē and he ſuffride hem ⁊ lo ye deuelis weren
out fro ye mā: ⁊ entriden i to ye ſwyn and wip abure ye
flok went headlyng in to ye pool: ⁊ was drenchid and
whāne ye herdis ſaien pis ping doon: yei flowen ⁊ tel
den i to ye citee ⁊ in to ye toūnes and yei zeden out to ſe
yat ping: p̄t was doon ⁊ yei camen to ihū ⁊ yei foundē
ye mā ſittynge clopid⁊ fro whō ye feendis went out⁊
in hool mynde at hise feet: ⁊ yei dredden ⁊ yei yat ſaien
telden to hē: hou he was maad hool of ye legioū ⁊ al ye
multitude of ye cuntre of geraſen' p̄iede hym p̄t he ſch
ulde go fro hem: for yei weren holdū wip greet drede
he went up i to a boot ⁊ turnyde azen ⁊ ye man of
whom ye deuels weren gon out: p̄iede hym yat he
ſchulde be wip hī ihū lefte hym ⁊ ſeide go azen in to

APPENDIX.

A.—*Page* 17.—Sinaitic Inscriptions.

It was, perhaps, because Assyrian discoveries so absorbed public attention when the Sinaitic Inscriptions first came to view in Europe, that learned men, who hastily committed themselves to the prejudice that they were only mediæval scribblings, and therefore beneath notice, felt no inclination to follow an earnest enquirer in the labour of decipherment, or to run the risk of ridicule by seeming to countenance what they had themselves decried as an illusion.

Meanwhile the attention of Oriental scholars has been recalled to the subject. First, the French Government commissioned M. Lottin de Laval to proceed to the Wilderness of Sinai, and take casts of those inscriptions from the face of the rocks; and soon afterwards the British Government caused them to be also photographed *in sitû*. The plaster castings, the photographs, and exact reproductions of both, have removed the subject from the region of conjecture, and brought it within the field of deliberate research.

The present writer has been surprised to find that some eminent Oriental scholars cherish their old persuasion that the inscriptions are of no value, and on comparing what they say with what he sees, he apprehends that they have not yet thoroughly examined the subject for themselves. It was, however, pleasant to observe that our countryman, Dean Stanley, who had led the way in casting mistrust on the late Mr. Forster's statements, did not stiffly persist in the unqualified opposition, but, in a valuable Excursus, rather encouraged thorough reconsideration of the subject. This appears in the fourth edition of his "Sinai and Palestine," in the year 1857.

Professor Palmer, of Cambridge, one of the latest visitors of the Wadis of the Sinai Wilderness, is one of those who think very

lightly of those Inscriptions, and it is no more than justice to the controversy, and to the readers of this volume, to publish his prompt reply to an enquiry on the subject, sincerely appreciating his courtesy, and marking with *Italics* the few words in his letter which show that he is in the way which must eventually lead us all to the right conclusion.

"My Dear Sir,—The Sinaitic Inscriptions are what Beer and others long since said they were—worthless Aramaic graffiti. I differ with those authorities only in little matters of *date, authorship,* and *paleography,* entirely confirming their results in other ways. The language differs from the Nabathean of the Hauran inscriptions only very slightly—the '*Sinaitic*' inscriptions in no case, I think, dating farther back than *the first century before Christ,* and many of them are certainly contemporary with the monkish settlements in the Peninsula. Some of them, I fancy, were done by merchants who attended fairs, as we find in many parts of the desert at the present day inscriptions in modern Arabic by hucksters and pedlars, &c.; others were by carriers or caravans passing through to Acabah, &c.; others, and those the smaller number, were by pilgrims, and a considerable number were apparently the work of people from Egypt, who supplied the monkish colonists with the necessaries of life. Their paleographic and philosophic value is something, their historic value absolutely nothing.—Very truly yours, E. H. Palmer.

"Rev. Dr. W. H. Rule."

All agree that there are scribblings of no value on the rocks of the Sinaitic peninsula. But confessedly, there are some inscriptions of the first century before Christ. Professor Palmer thinks that they were no earlier, but leaves us free to conjecture that they really were earlier, and these pre-Christian writings are *all that we care about.* Actual impressions of these in M. Lottin de Laval's plaster castings are to be seen in Paris; copies of them are before us; the process by which they were deciphered is given in full detail by Mr. Forster. After this no more is requisite than industrious revision, and we must hope that competent scholars will render to the cause of truth the service of yet further critical investigation.

Already we are in a position to survey the whole with perfect indifference to any lingering controversy. Two years after Dr. Stanley's less unfavourable observations, M. de Laval published (1859) the account of his mission to the Wilderness, and by this

time had found ample opportunity for studying, as well as editing, the inscriptions he obtained, not at second hand, nor by hand-copying, but by mechanical and unerring transfer from the face of the rock. After all this, Mr. Forster having no participation in his work, he devoted the concluding chapter to a calm consideration of the controversy, and not committing himself to any championship of Forster, contributed, as he says, "new arguments" in support of his views.

He observes that, in the year of our Lord 518, these inscriptions were described by the natives to Cosmas Indicopleustes, who saw them, as of very high antiquity, in a language then lost, and yet more distinctly, as the work of Israelites led that way by Moses. But as the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula from the time of Christ had not long been reduced by foreign conquest, inscriptions made at any time within 500 years would not have then been in a lost language and unknown character.

M. de Laval, like other eye-witnesses, says that the miscellaneous *Graffiti* were but scratched with the points of swords, or some such instruments, on the softer kinds of rock, whereas the inscriptions in question were cut into the face of the granite with tools proper for the purpose, the surface having been previously made smooth with hard labour, and that labour much increased by the great height and consequent difficulty of access for the workmen. As for the alleged frequency of Christian Crosses, he says that such crosses are extremely rare, and when they do occur, have no sort of relation to the inscriptions, being merely cut in amongst them by modern hands. "As for the connection existing between the Sinaitic writing and that of Egypt," he avows, "we are perfectly of Mr. Forster's opinion, and shall support him with proofs. Twenty-two letters of the demotic Egyptian alphabet are constantly found in the Sinaitic inscriptions. With the exception of two or three variants, it is the same alphabet." And after dwelling at length on the above points, he delivers his conclusion in the following sentences:—

"We have not taken up with any party; we follow no system; we have nothing more in view than the advancement of science. Now the result of our observations and long study in this matter is, that *if* these foreign writings are not the work of the Israelites, as many incline to believe, and if we must resign ourselves to think that a people so intelligent, so persevering as the Hebrew people, have not left in the indelible granite of the Peninsula of Sinai a

single monument of their Exode, to thank God for being able, in the midst of so much misery and danger, to recover safety and liberty; *if* we must give up all this, *then* they cannot have been written by any other than a Shemitic race, having the most intimate relations with Egypt, to which it owed its civilisation and its art of writing; an Aramean, or Ante-Islamic people, going at once from the Hauran to the Red Sea; and this, as I think, could only be the colony of the Nabatheans, whose metropolis was Petra. Beyond these two peoples, all is conjecture and darkness."

This was published three years before Mr. Forster issued his "Sinai Photographed," wherein we find the last overwhelming evidence. Let competent persons do their best to revise, correct, and advance upon the work of their predecessors, and the fruit will be—if that is possible—a more perfect confirmation of the Mosaic History.

B.—*Page* 46.—Moabite Stone.

Ganneau:—I am Mesa, son of Chamos-gad, King of Moab, the Dibonite | My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I have reigned after my father. | And I have built the sanctuary for Chamos in Quarha [Sanctuary of Salvation], for he has saved me from all transgressors, and has made me look upon all my enemies with contempt. | Omri was King of Israel, and oppressed Moab during many days, and Chamos was irritated at his aggressions. | And his son succeeded him, and he said, he also, I will oppress Moab. | In my days, I said, "I will . . . . him . . . . and I will visit him and his house. | And Israel was ruined, ruined for ever. Omri gained possession of the land of Medeba. | And he dwelt there . . . . [Ahab] his son lived forty years, and Chamos made him [perish] in my time.* |

Then I built Baal-Meon† and constructed Quiriathaim.‡ | And the men of Gad dwelt in the country of [Ataro]th from ancient times, and the king of Israel had built the city of Ataroth.§ | I attacked the city and I took it, | and I killed the people of the city, a spectacle to Chamos and to Moab, | and I carried away from there the . . . . and I dragged it on the ground before the face of Chamos at Querioth, | and I brought there the men of Saron (or of Chofen) and the men of Maharouth (?).

---

* 1 Kings xxii. 20-38. † Ezek. xxv. 9. ‡ Ibid. § Num. xxxii. 34.

And Chamos said to me, "Go, take Neboh from Israel." | I went by night, and I fought against the city from the dawn to mid-day,* | and I took it: and I killed all seven thousand [men, and I carried away with me] the women and the young girls; for to Astar Chamos belongs the consecration of women; | and I brought from thence the vessels of Jehovah, and I dragged them on the ground before the face of Chamos. |

And the King of Israel had built Yahas,† and resided there during the wars with me. | And Chamos drove him from before my face. I took from Moab two hundred men in all, I made them go up to Yahas, and I took it to annex it to Dibon. | It is I who have built Quarha, the wall of the forests, and the wall of the hill. | I have built its gates, and I have built its towers. | I have built the palace of the king, and I have constructed the prisons of the . . . . . in the midst of the city. |

And there were no wells in the interior of the city in Quarha: and I said to all the people, "Make you every man a well in his house," | and I dug cisterns for Quarha for . . . . . of Israel. |

It is I who have built Aroer,‡ and have made the road of Arnon. | It is I who have built Beth Bamoth,§ which was destroyed. | It is I who have built Bosor,‖ which [is powerful] . . . . Dibon¶ of the military chiefs, for all Dibon was submissive. | And I have filled . . . . . with the cities which I have added to the land [of Moab.]

And it is I who have built Beth Diblathaim,** and Beth Baal Meon,†† and I have raised there the . . . . . the land. | And Horonaim,‡‡ he resided there with . . . . . |

And Chamos said to me, "Go down and fight against Horonaim." Chamos, in my day . . . . . | . . . . . the year . . . . . .

Ginsburg:—I Mesha am son of Chemoshgad King of Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years, and I reigned after my father. And I erected this stone to Chemosh at Korcha [a stone of sa]lvation, for he saved me from all despoilers, and let

---

* Num. xxxii. 3; 1 Chron. v. 8; Is. xv. 2; Jer. xlviii. 1-22. † Num. xxi. 23; Deut. ii. 32; Judg. xi. 20; Josh. xiii. 18; cf. 1 Chron. vi. 78, and Josh. xxi. 36; Jer. xlviii. 21, 34; Is. xv. 4. ‡ 2 Kings x. 33; 1 Chron. v. 8; cf. Jer. xlviii. 19. § Num. xxii. 41; xxi. 19; Is. xv. 2. ‖ 1 Macc. v. 26, 36. ¶ Num. xxi. 30; xxxii.; Josh. xiii. 9; Is. xv. 2; Jer. xlviii. 18, 22, 24. ** Jer. xlviii. 22. †† Jer. xlviii. 23. ‡‡ Is. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, 34.

me see my desire upon all my enemies. Now Om[r]i, King of Israel, he oppressed Moab many days, for Chemosh was angry with his la[nd]. His son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab. In my days, he said, [Let us go], and I will see my desire on him and his house; and Israel said, I shall destroy it for ever. Now Omri took the land Medeba, and the enemy occupied it [in his days, and in] the days of his son, forty years. And Chemosh [had mercy] on it in my days; and I built Baal-Meon, and made therein the ditch, and I [built] Kirjathaim. And the men of Gad dwelled in the land [Ataro]th from of old, and the K[ing of I]srael fortified A[t]aroth, and I assaulted the wall, and captured it, and killed all the wa[rriors of] the wall, for the well-pleasing of Chemosh and Moab; and removed from it all the spoil, and [offered it] before Chemosh in Kirjath; and I placed therein the men of Siran, and the me[n of] Mockrath. And Chemosh said to me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. [And I] went in the night, and I fought against it from the break of dawn till noon, and I took it, and slew in all seven thousand [men; but I did not kill] the women [and ma]idens, for [I] devoted [them] to Ashtar Chemosh; and I took from it [the ves]sels of Jehovah, and offered them before Chemosh. And the King of Israel fortif[ied] Jahaz; and occupied it, when he made war against me; and Chemosh drove him out before [me. And] I took from Moab two hundred men, all its poor, and placed them in Jahaz; and took it, to annex it to Dibon. I built Korcha, the wall of the forest, and the wall of the city; and I built the gates thereof, and I built the towers thereof, and I built the palace, and I made the prisons for the crim[ina]ls with[in the] wall. And there was no cistern in the wall in Korcha, and I said to all the people, Make for yourselves every man a cistern in his house. And I dug the ditch for Korcha with the [chosen] men of [I]srael. I built Aroer, and I made the road across the Arnon; I built Beth-Bamoth, for it was destroyed; I built Bezer, for it was cu[t down] by the armed m[en] of Dibon, for all Dibon was now loyal; and I reign[ed] from Bikran, which I added to my land; and I bui[lt] [Beth-Gamul], and Beth-Diblathaim, and Beth-Baal-Meon, and I placed there the p[oor] [people of] the land. And as to Horonaim, [the men of Edom] dwelt therein [on the descent from of old]. And Chemosh said to me, Go down, make war against Horonaim, and ta[ke it. And I assaulted it], [and I took it, for] Chemosh [restored i]t in my days. Wherefore I ma[de] . . . . . year and I . . . . .

When too late for notice in its proper place, intelligence came of the decipherment, by M. Ganneau, of a fragment of the Moabite inscription which had been mislaid, containing the name of David. Mesha boasts that having taken the city of Ashtaroth, he carried away *the Ariel of David.** Not only is it interesting to find a mention of David on the Moabite stone, but also, if I mistake not, a key to the word אריאל, which has perplexed many translators, although the author of our English version understood it perfectly. "Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, the son of a valiant man, of Kabzeel, slew *two lion-like men*" שני אראל of Moab (2 Sam. xxiii. 20). In Moab, therefore, the same epithet is employed by the writer of the Books of Samuel, and by Mesha. It also occurs elsewhere (Is. xxxiii. 7) in the Old Testament, with the same meaning, and answers well to some of the remarkable men whom King David had near his person, and are mentioned in the chapter now quoted. Bochart, in his *Hierozoicon*, brings several quotations to show that, with both Arabs and Persians, *Lion of God* was the epithet of honour given to a brave and powerful soldier,† and a title of honour to warlike kings. The eminent archæologist to whom we are indebted for this addition to our knowledge of the Moabite Stone, conjectures that the Ariel of David might be a military standard, having the figure of a man-headed lion, and we have an example of such a chimæra in the Royal Seal of Abyssinia, but we need not wander so far for an explanation, which is already found without any uncertainty, in the Hebrew text, with reference to this very land of Mesha. The capture of one of David's captains at Ashtaroth must have occurred in the war mentioned in 1 Chron. xviii. 2, when "David smote Moab, and the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts."

C.—*Page* 83.—Samaritan Pentateuchs.

Any student who has occasion to examine the Samaritan Pentateuch would probably turn to Blayney's *Pentateuchus Hebraeo-Samaritanus Charactere Chaldaico editus.* Oxon. 1790. From that useful and convenient volume let us translate the following remarkable additions. By whom and whensoever made, they are illustrative of a party feeling

---

* *Revue Archéologique*, Mai 1872, page 334.

† Hieroz. I., pp. 716, 717.

strong enough to overpower any sentiment of Divine authority that a half-proselyted heathen people might possibly entertain.

1. "And it shall be when the LORD thy God shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanite, whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt set up for thyself great stones, and thou shalt plaster them with lime. And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law. And it shall be, when ye pass over Jordan, ye shall set up these stones which I command you to-day, on Mount Gerizim. And thou shalt build there an altar to the Lord thy God, an altar of stones; thou shalt not lift up iron upon it. With plain stones shalt thou build the altar of the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer up upon it sacrifices to the Lord thy God. And thou shalt sacrifice peace-offerings, and thou shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. That mountain beyond Jordan, after the way from the rising of the sun in the land of the Canaanite, who dwelleth in the West, over against Gilgal, near by the oak of Moreh, over against Shechem." All this is boldly interpolated between the 17th and 18th verses of the twentieth chapter of the Book of Exodus, interrupting the sublime narrative of the giving of the Law, and giving to the forgery of a Divine title to the place an additional feature of sacrilege, for which a parallel example could scarcely be found.

2. The same intrusion is repeated in the Book of Deuteronomy, between the 21st and 22nd verses, of the fifth chapter, in spite of a sentence which here follows in the genuine Hebrew text,—"These words spake the Lord to all your assembly in the mountain from the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice, *and he added no more.*" This prohibition the Samaritans acknowledge when they accept the text they have presumed to enlarge, and place their own addition at a point of time where such matters are obviously premature. No precepts concerning local institutions are as yet given in the original Hebrew text.

D.—*Page* 243.—OTFRIED. (From Schilter's *Thesaurus*).

SAGETUM, thaz die gahun
sterron einan dahun,
Joh dœtun filu mari
thaz er sin uuari
"Uuir sahun sinan sterron
thoh uuir thera burgi irron.

Dicebant: quod subito
Stellam aliquam vidissent;
Imo faciebant multum clarum
Quod ea ipsius esset.
Vidimus ejus stellam
sed nos civitatem ignoramus.

"Joh quamun thaz uuir betotin,
ginado sino thigitin.
"Ofter filu ferro
so scein uns ouh ther sterro.
"Ist iaman hiar in Lante,
es iauuit thoh firstante.

"Gistirri zaltun uuir io,
ni sahun uuir n'an er io.
"Bithiu birun uuir nu gieinot
er niuuan kuning zeinot.

"So scribun uns in Lante
man in uuorolti alte;
"Thaz ir uns ouh gizellet,
unio is in ino buah singet."

So thisu uuort tho gahun
then kuning anaquamun
Hintarquam er parto
thero selbe uuorto;

Joh manni liches houbit
uuard es thar gidruabit;
Gihorton ungerno
thaz uuir nu niazen gerno.

Thie buachara ouh tho thare
gisamanota er sare.
Si uuas er fragenti
uuar Christus giboran uuurte
Er sprah z'en Euuarton.
selben thesen uuorton.
Gab armer ioh ther richo,
antuuurti gilicho.

Et venimus ut adoremus
gratiam ejus ambiremus.
In Oriente multum procul
apparuit nobis stella

Estne quis hic in regione
qui aliquid hujus intelligat?
Stellas recensuimus utique,
nunca vidimus hanc antea.
Ideoque nunc statuimus
honorem novo Regi exhibere
Sic scribunt nobis in regione (nostra)
viri in mundo veteri
Quod vos nobis quoque referatis
Quomodo id in vestro libro sonet.
Cum haec verba ita celeriter,
Regi (ad aures) venirent
Observabat hic accurate
ipsa illorum (accersitorum) verba
Et quodlibet caput (omnes principes civitatis)
tunc turbabatur
Audiebant illibenter
quo nos nunc fruimur libenter
Scribas quoque ad se congregabat is illico.
Hos interrogabat
ubi Christus nasciturus sit?

Dicebat ad Sacerdotes
eadem verba.
Dabat pauper et dives
responsum similiter

Thia burg nantun sie sar,	Civitatem nominabant illico
in festiz datun alauuar,	confirmarunt idem per omnia
75 Mit uuorton then er thie altun	75 Verbis, quibus olim antiqui
fora sagun zaltun.	prophetae retulerunt.

This specimen of Otfried's evangelical poem is extracted from the first of Schilter's three magnificent folios, the *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum* (*Ulmae*) MDCCXXVIII. The Latin translation is retained, and the reader will probably discover, in the amplification of a few words of text, considerable ingenuity and poetic taste. The cadence of the metre is perceptible at first glance, and on careful examination it will appear that this Theotisc or Teutonic dialect of the ninth century much resembles very homely English of the nineteenth, having a few German words mixed with it, but all disguised by a very strange way of spelling. The *double u* (*uu* equivalent with *w*) is remarkable.

The poem is divided into five parts. Otfried also paraphrased the Song of Songs, the Songs of Isaiah (Is. xii.), Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii.), Hannah (1 Sam. ii.), Moses (Exod xv.), Habbaccuc (Hab. iii.), Zachariah (Luke i.), and the Virgin Mary (Luke i.). He studied in the school of Fulda, and is said to have known Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. To him is attributed the honour of originating German orthography.

E.—*Page* 178.—Kings of Assyria.

Professor Rawlinson* compiles a list of Assyrian Kings from Bricks, Cylinders, and Inscriptions. It may be said to consist of three divisions. The first, which is not copied here, should contain many names, but only three were found, all of unknown date, whereas the kings of Nineveh, if counted from Asshur, would be many. The second division begins with Asshur-bil-nisi-su, and may be said to end with Shamas-Vul I. The length of their reigns is altogether provisional. Between them and the following division there is only the name of one King in an uncertain interval. Lastly, there is a series of kings more perfectly historical, from Asshur-dayan II. in

* Five Great Monarchies, Vol. ii., Page 49.

B.C. 930—911, to Asshur-emid-ilin, last King of Assyria in Nineveh, 626—625.

B.C. 1440—1420.	Asshur-bil-nisi-su.
1420—1400.	Buzzur-Asshur, (successor).
1400—1380.	Asshur-upallit, (successor).
1380—1360.	Bel-lush, (his son).
1360—1340.	Pud-il, (his son).
1340—1320.	Vul-lush I., (his son).
1320—1300.	Shalmaneser I, (his son).
1300—1280.	Tiglathi-Nin I., (his son).
* *	* * *
1230—1210.	Bel-kudur-uzur.
1210—1190.	Nin-pala-zira, (successor).
1190—1170.	Asshur-dayan I., (his son).
1170—1150.	Mutaggil-Nebo, (his son).
1150—1130.	Asshur-ris-illim, (his son).
1130—1110.	Tiglath-Pileser I., (his son).
1110—1090.	Asshur-bil-kala, (his son).
1090—1070.	Shamas-Vul I., (his brother).
* *	* * *
	Asshur-mazur.
* *	* * *
930—911.	Asshur-dayan II.
911—889.	Vul-lush II., (his son).
889—883.	Tiglathi-Nin II., (his son).
883—858.	Asshur-izir-pal, (his son).
858—823.	Shalmaneser II., (his son).
823—810.	Shamas-Vul. II., (his son).
810—781.	Vul-lush III, (his son).
781—771.	Shalmaneser III.
* *	* * *
753—745.	Asshur-lush.
745—727.	Tiglath-Pileser II.
727—722.	Shalmaneser IV.
722—705.	Sargon, (his son).
705—681.	Sennacherib, (his son).
681—668.	Esar-haddon, (his son).
668—626.	Asshur-bani-pal.
626—625.	Asshur-emid-ilin.

BS620 .R93
Biblical monuments
Princeton Theological Seminary–Speer Library
1 1012 00045 4878